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THE  
CRITICAL REVIEW  
OF  
THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL  
LITERATURE

EDITED BY  
PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.

VOL. VIII.

EDINBURGH:  
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.  
1898.

PRINTED BY TURNBULL AND SPEARS

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH,

LONDON, . . .	SIMPSON, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO., LTD.
NEW YORK, . . .	CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.
TORONTO, . . .	WILLARD TRACT DEPOSITORY.

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## **The Providential Order of the World.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Being the First Series of the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1897. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. 391. Price, 7s. 6d.*

## **Elements of the Science of Religion.**

*Part I., Morphological. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1896, by C. P. Tiele, Theol.D.; Litt.D. (Bonon.); Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leyden. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. ix. 302. Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

As the Gifford Lectures are delivered sometimes in the earlier, sometimes in the later portion of the University Session, it might save a possible confusion if they were always described with the full indication of the Session to which they belong. Thus, the series named at the head of this notice were both given during Session 1896-97, and are therefore parallel, though from their title-pages they might be understood as belonging to different years.

Professor Bruce has chosen as his special topic one well within the range indicated by Lord Gifford in his Deed by Bequest, by which he instituted lectures on "Natural Theology." The aspect of this general subject here dealt with is the "The Providential Order of the World," and the propositions to be established are stated in a broad way in the following sentence:—"That God cares for man individually and collectively; that His nature is such, and that He sustains such a relation to man as makes that care natural and credible; that His care covers all human interests, but especially the higher ethical interests—righteousness, goodness—in the individual and in society; that He is a moral Governor, and a benignant Father, a Power making for righteousness, and a Power overcoming evil with good; that He ruleth over all things with a view to a kingdom of the good" (pp. 6, 7). Dr Bruce's method is to assume that it is so as a preliminary, guiding hypothesis, and then by an investigation into the circumstances of man's position, nature and history, to show how far, especially in the light of modern theories and difficulties, the hypothesis is justified by a fair view of the facts.

The chief theory which has to be reckoned with in this connection is naturally the theory of Evolution, and Dr Bruce's book will doubtless appear to many as an elaborate attempt to make friends of the mammon of evolution as the only refuge for the bewildered in the search for everlasting intellectual habitations. It is only fair to note, however, that his treatment of the subject is on this side also largely hypothetical, that while on a first glance he seems to make important concessions to a Monistic philosophy,—while occasionally we get such an argument as that "making man in his entire nature subject to evolutionary law . . . presents certain advantages for the cause of Theism" (p. 26), while in another connection our author goes so far as to say—"It may be a kind of duty to modern science to believe that this is so, even in absence of proof" (p. 286),—his usual attitude is of the non-committal order. He does not hold a brief for Evolution; he expressly avoids dogmatising on many points; on many he disclaims the right or the competence to judge authoritatively. His position is that, even if the claims of evolution be granted, if it be regarded as a theory universally applicable, it is still possible to maintain, and to support by reference to the facts which the world, looked at from an evolutionary point of view, supplies, that God is, and is such as Theism represents Him to be. While in the light of modern science the old Teleology has been proved untenable—"final causes being in reality effects" and the earth being "suited to its inhabitants because it has produced them" so that "only such as suit it live" (p. 13; the last sentence is quoted from Barratt's *Physical Ethics*), there is possible a wider Teleology grounded upon the world-order itself. There is no reason why, as Mr Fiske remarks (*Idea of God*—Preface, p. xxiv.), "when a distinct dramatic tendency in the events of the universe appears as the *result* of purely scientific investigation, we should refuse to recognise it . . . and while such a tendency cannot be regarded as indicative of purpose in the limited anthropomorphic sense, it is still the objective aspect of that which, when regarded on its subjective side, we call Purpose." "The doctrine of evolution," Mr Fiske says again (p. xx.), "by exhibiting the development of the highest spiritual human qualities as the goal toward which God's creative work has from the outset been tending, replaces man in his old position of headship in the universe, even as in the days of Dante and Aquinas." The last sentence might stand as expressing the basis, if not the theme, of Professor Bruce's lectures—"Man, the crown of creation, the key to its meaning and to the nature of the Creator—such was the doctrine enunciated at the commencement of this course as the basis of our whole inquiry. Man, endowed with rational and moral powers, redeeming the lower parts of creation from insignificance and making it worth while for God to have to do with it. This is

the providential view of the creative process" (p. 358). Evolution, according to the often repeated distinction, is a *modal* not a *causal* theory of the universe; it has nothing to do with origins, it sets forth methods. It does not exclude God, it only claims to be the mode of the divine action, if such there be. The providential view "does not supersede the physical or mechanical view, but is simply a different way of contemplating the same thing. The universe is evolved according to ascertained or ascertainable natural laws. But all the time there is an ultimate cause at work within the evolutionary process who has an aim in view, and who directs the process so that that aim shall be realised. The aim is man, and all that goes before has its reason of existence in him, and its value through him" (p. 358). The theory of evolution in itself, even by its unbroken continuities, cannot be held as confirming the Atheistic any more than the Theistic hypothesis, for as was shrewdly pointed out by Mr Romanes in a passage referred to by Dr Bruce (p. 15), if God be personal and all causation the immediate expression of His will, yet if that will be self-consistent, "all natural causation must needs appear to us 'mechanical,' and it is no argument against the divine origin of a thing, event, &c., to prove it due to natural causation." "All may be mechanism, yet all may also be teleology."

Working from this starting-point and upon these principles, Professor Bruce proceeds to consider "Man's Place in the Universe," and the reasons for and against regarding his intellectual and moral nature, as well as his bodily frame, as a stage in an evolutionary process. The aim is, "if possible, to make faith independent of the truth or falsehood of scientific theories and hypotheses" (p. 44). In the third lecture the "Theistic Inferences" from the position thus gained are considered. First, the propriety is questioned of recognising in a Theistic interest crises or exceptional stages in the process of evolution,—such as the commencement of the process itself, the origin of life and of consciousness—as those in which the finger of God can be most clearly seen at work; and then the argument that man is the end and the interpretation of the whole process is more fully worked out. But before the argument can be applied in detail to the several spheres of human experience, three sources of unbelief in the Providential order have to be considered and counteracted. These are: "Views of God incompatible with the idea of a Providential world-aim; facts of human life pessimistically interpreted which seem to give the hypothesis of a Divine care for man the lie; cynical estimates of human nature rendering belief in man being an end for God impossible" (p. 19). In the fourth lecture, accordingly, the first of these difficulties is faced: "Conceptions of God as a non-moral deity *below* caring for man,

and the interests man as a moral personality represents." The conceptions referred to are those of Spinoza, Schopenhauer and Hartmann. As the positions of the latter largely depend upon the justice or otherwise of the verdict they pass upon human life as a whole, the Pessimistic attitude is subjected to a careful criticism in the lecture entitled "The Worth of Life." "The truth," it is said, "lies between two extremes. Unqualified optimism is as false as unqualified pessimism" (p. 110); and in seeking for a standard of judgment, we are led to the conclusion that "the bearing of experience upon the moral interest must always be the dominant, if not the exclusive, consideration" (p. 114). Pain is not the one great reality of human life; even it serves beneficent ends (p. 119). And Progress is real, though it may be slow (p. 136). The second objection, founded upon ideas of man which make him a being beneath the notice of God, forms the subject of Lecture VI. The ancient objections of Celsus form an appropriate introduction to a consideration of the modern difficulties whereby we are tempted to indulge in contempt for man even at his best, still more for the average of mankind, and most of all for man regarded in his primitive or undeveloped and degenerate conditions. Of special interest here are Dr Bruce's suggestions as to pre-historic man, and the evidences that a watchful Providence was guiding his footsteps towards better and higher things. Even with degenerate man, though there may be more doubt, there need be no despair. With Lecture VII. we enter upon the historic field, in which Dr Bruce shows himself much at home by his happy and suggestive combinations. Here we have, first, a consideration of what is implied in the moral government of God—God as the "Power making for righteousness." Though a partial truth, it is a truth; it has its witness, first of all, in the conscience; and again its retributive aspect is plainly to be read in history. Nations perish for want of righteousness. In the contest between good and evil, the victory, though it may be long delayed, is on the side of good, of morality reinforced by religion. "The Power working in and for Humanity" is in the eighth and ninth lectures illustrated under the respective headings of "Historic Dawns" and "Historic Days." Their aim is thus expressed: "If God worked towards man in lower stages of the creative process, we expect that He will work on in man towards adequate realisation of the human ideal. Creation, evolution will go on now in the human sphere. If there be no trace of onward movement in history, there will be reason to suspect that we were mistaken in our whole conception of man's place in the universe and of its significance" (p. 202). By *Historic Dawn* is meant the observa-



tion which it is possible to make of a "people just emerging out of the darkness of prehistoric night into the daylight of history" (pp. 205-6). Here the Indians of the Vedic period, the ancient Persians, the early Israelites, the pre-Mohammedan Arabians, and the Germans, as they are depicted in the pages of Tacitus, are successively passed under review. These people were prepared by Providence for the parts they were destined to play in history; some of them had to wait long before their opportunity came; and this leads to a tender word or two on behalf of those who, like the races of Africa, have not yet had their chance, and those who, like the Jews and the Modern Greeks, live rather by memory than in hope. *Historic Days*, on the other hand, bring before us the contributions to human advancement made by Israel, Greece and Rome—"names recalling momentous memories" (p. 226)—with a glance at the later post-Reformation period of the world's history. Not in history only, however, is the Providential order to be discovered, but in the sphere of the Individual Life. This is the theme of the ninth lecture. That it is a reasonable one is "a natural inference from the doctrine of the value of man for God" (p. 256), and that not only in regard to the world's great men and their work, but in regard also to "common men" (p. 258). Here a natural subject of perplexity occurs in the old problem—old as Jeremiah and the Book of Job, probably much older than either—which concerns the sufferings of the righteous, sufferings which seem great in proportion as those who endure them are faithful and those who deserve them escape. It is in such experience, however, "when properly understood, that the providential order of the world is seen to receive its most conspicuous verification" (p. 265). The full justification of this statement is only attempted in the concluding lecture of the series; but meanwhile some alleviation of the difficulty is sought in the bearing upon it of Prayer and of the thought of a Future Life. On the last point a number of inferences are stated which "naturally arise out of the general position: man a chief end for God" (p. 281). Our author's own standpoint is sufficiently indicated by the aphorism: "Live nobly, and it will begin to appear to you credible that you will live for ever" (p. 279). The fact of a Providential order having thus, it is presumed, been established by an examination of history and personal experience, the last three lectures treat of the manner in which it appears, its methods of working. Its three laws are Election, Solidarity and Progress by Sacrifice. In his discussion of these subjects, as indeed in every lecture throughout the volume, Professor Bruce is not only able and instructive, but bold and vigorous. No part of the book seems to us more full of interest and originality than the



tenth lecture, that on Election. He gives the term a wide interpretation, apprehending it as a general rule of which what is usually understood by it is only a special case. "The general aim of election is service to mankind in some particular sphere within the wide range of human interests. . . . Privilege, prerogative, may be involved in the method; but whatever element of this kind there may be is secondary in comparison with the universal service contemplated" (p. 283). "Many things go to the making of an elect man or people: heredity, environment, experience" (p. 284). Men and peoples have their peculiar qualifications, and the method of election utilises these in turn for the general advantage. On the one hand, the peculiarity is a fact of which Providence is seen availing itself; on the other hand, the general advantage demands that "all important human interests should have for their furtherance emphatic representation" (p. 287). Hence "more elect peoples than one are needed to do the work of Providence" (p. 288); and if it may be said that all peoples are elect, it is in the sense that "all possess some special aptitude for some particular service whereof mankind is to get the benefit" (p. 289). Hitherto Providence has "shown a preference for small nations as its instruments," and "within these it works mainly through chosen *men*" (p. 290-91). The elect man and the elect people "are relative to each other, belong to each other, and each is to the other the instrument of usefulness" (p. 292). In the case of men and nations, but particularly in the latter, some degree of isolation is necessary. The seed is enclosed in its hard shell until it is matured, when it bursts its envelope and introduces a new element of living force into the world. Two things are thus necessary for the performance of its function by an elect race—"original peculiarity and careful conservation of the distinctive feature. These two conditions in the Providential order correspond to variation and heredity in the physical order" (p. 295). When people perish, however, it is by their own fault. That which fits them to perform their special function almost inevitably entails upon them the defect of their virtue. As a rule, they are *one-sided* (p. 298); each does good service to the world by that in which it is strong, each suffers through lack of that in which it is weak (pp. 299-300). Nations "may fail to realise this vocation, or they may realise it simply as a *privilege*" (p. 302), and "the sense of a peculiar vocation may be perverted into food for a pride, which, while very conscious of privilege, neglects duty" (p. 304). Only Christ was entirely free from the sins and defects of the elect; He was the elect man *par excellence* in all human history—free from all one-sidedness, not to speak of graver faults (p. 306). And He founded the Church, the various branches of which, as well as the Church

as a whole, have their special calls to service in rendering which they save themselves as well as those that hear. "Solidarity—family and social—the dependence of the many on the one, and of the one on the many"—is dealt with in the eleventh lecture, and Progress by Sacrifice—the progress of the many by the sacrifice of the few—is the theme of the twelfth. One of the most remarkable features of this final chapter is the apology for war into which it perhaps somewhat inconsequently drifts. There is surely some difference between admiration for the heroism which sacrifices itself in a noble cause, and an implied thankfulness for a state of things which, by making such heroism necessary, provides the opportunity for its display.

The foregoing analysis of the argument will give some idea of the author's bold conception of his task and of the trenchant vigour of its execution. It is impossible here to enter into any detailed criticism of this work. It would, we believe, be easy to point to numerous inconsistencies, due to the writer's determination—commendable in itself—to look at things upside down as compared with the ordinary method of contemplating them. And while, having once assumed the Providential order, it is satisfactory to know that the world, even as viewed from the standpoint of evolution presents so much that can be used to illustrate the hypothesis, how are we to know that this is the only hypothesis which affords an explanation of the facts, and that it may not be dismissed in the name of the principle of economy of causes? The assumption itself, if evolution be universally applicable, can only be regarded as a survival of a pre-evolution era, an instance, if it be true, of that progress through illusion to truth which Mr E. A. Abbott has in several of his volumes eloquently set forth. While Dr Bruce is doubtless right in condemning those who see God only in the *unusual* (p. 49), it may be that if God is not to be seen in the unusual, and if there is no unusual in which to see Him, we lose our right to see Him in the usual, and the Theistic hypothesis remains and must remain unproved. The advocates of Miracle properly maintain that the one is relative to the other, that without the usual the unusual would be devoid of significance, while without the unusual the special interpretation of the usual would be a pure conjecture or an act of faith absolutely without verification. This strong position seems to be surrendered on the ground taken by Dr Bruce.

In the present volume we have the theoretical presentation of the subject, and though the second course as promised, viz., *Providence in Pagan, Hebrew and Modern Thought*, will doubtless be of deep interest, most inquirers will probably attach the greater importance to the discussions contained in this. The reverse may be

said of the other set of Gifford Lectures now lying before us. Professor Tiele's work will be more profitably and fully considered when it is complete. Understanding his subject as equivalent to the Science of Religion—a department to which he has devoted many years of a busy life, in which he was one of the earliest investigators, and is still one of the greatest authorities—he describes it as the task of his science “to make us acquainted with religion, to enable us to trace its life and growth, and thus to penetrate to its origin and inmost nature. Our study thus naturally divides itself into two main parts—(1) the morphological, which is concerned with the constant changes of form resulting from an ever-progressing evolution; and (2) the ontological, which treats of the permanent elements in what is changing, the unalterable element in transient and ever-altering forms—in a word, the origin and the very nature and essence of religion” (p. 27). The present volume accordingly consists largely of historical matter, which, though freshly worked over and interspersed with interesting discussions, is yet in its main features familiar to the student of the author's *Outlines of the History of Religions*, and other similar works. The development of religion is traced from the lowest forms of nature-religions to the higher nature-religions and the ethical-religions. This, with the introductory lecture, occupies five of the ten lectures of which the series consists. Two are concerned with “Directions of Development.” By the term “Direction of Development,” Professor Tiele understands “a spiritual current which sweeps along a single principle of religion, or some fundamental religious idea, more or less regardless of others, to its extreme consequences. Two religions may stand equally high, though their process of development has been very different. And, conversely, two may occupy very different levels of development and yet agree in character” (p. 151). The last three lectures are on “Laws of Development,” “The Influence of the Individual in the Development of Religion,” and “Essentials of the Development of Religion.” All this is, however, only clearing the way for the great discussion upon the nature and essence of religion, in which Dr Tiele will give the ripest fruits of his special studies, and break what we believe will be for him new ground. To this, therefore, we look forward with the liveliest expectations.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

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**The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement and Satisfaction  
made to God for the Sins of the World.**

*Being the Twenty-Seventh Fernley Lecture, delivered in Leeds, July 1897, by John Scott Lidgett, M.A., Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement. London: Charles Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 498. Price, 5s.*

IN this work the author aims at the revision and restatement of the doctrine of the atonement in the light of certain tendencies of modern thought that have combined to place it in the background. Faith in the Fatherhood of God, the rediscovery of the historic Christ, and the sense of the naturalness of His death repelling men from any doctrine that makes it *mechanically* supernatural, the vivid appreciation of the ethical content of His sufferings leading them to view Christ in His death, as in His life, as the Ideal Man—all tend to turn people away from the doctrinal apprehension of the death of Christ. The task accordingly is forced on us, the author says, of stating the truth of the atonement in a way that will give effect to what is true and vital in these tendencies. To this task he has brought a large and sympathetic knowledge of the subject, a remarkable power of speculative thought, as well as of spiritual insight, an understanding of the principles of revealed truth based on familiarity with the results of modern exegesis; and the result is a volume, the most important in this department, as it seems to me, that has been given to the world since Dr Dale published his work on the Atonement, and characterised by the same devoutness of spirit and scientific treatment of the theme that distinguish that work.

The author begins with an interesting chapter on the historical cause of our Lord's death. He points out the inevitableness of that event when we consider the spirit of Christ's teaching and its irreconcilableness with that which prevailed. He concludes that the cause of His death was simply "His inward obedience to the Father in the faithful manifestation of the life of the Son" (33).

Passing to the Bible doctrine of the Atonement (chap. iii.), the author examines the testimony of the Epistles, Gospels, Prophets, and the institution of sacrifice, as to the nature of the demand made by God that is satisfied by the death of Christ, and as to the precise efficacy of His death in meeting that demand. As the result of his inquiry he finds that His death is "a propitiation maintaining and manifesting the righteousness of God in the forgiveness of sin," and that it is not the suffering and death in themselves that give it this efficacy, but the spirit in which they were endured, His complete surrender and obedience to His Father in manifesting His

own life as the Son under the penal conditions that were consequent on His union with the race of sinful men. This, the Satisfying principle in our Lord's death, he terms the Spiritual principle of the Atonement.

He next examines the answers that have been returned by dogmatic theology to the question, what there is in the original relationship between God and man, and in its modification by sin, that brings about this Atonement and determines the peculiar form it has assumed. The various theories from Anselm to Ritschl are passed under review, the author finding in each an element of the whole truth. Especially instructive is his criticism of the views of Dr Dale and Dr Macleod Campbell. The mistake of the former, he urges, lay in the impersonal view he took of the law, regarding it as distinct from God, so that the satisfaction to forgiveness was rather an offering rendered by God than a demand needed by Him. He justly criticises also Dale's view that the virtue of Christ's death consisted simply in His endurance of the punishment of the law. "Surely," he says, "all spiritual satisfaction for transgression of the law involves an act of spiritual adhesion to the law quite as much as unresisting submission to punishment for breach of the law." Macleod Campbell's view, on the other hand, is criticised as making the divine satisfaction to lie "so exclusively in the spiritual attitude of our Lord that His sufferings seem to be almost incidental to it." He objects to Campbell's phrase about our Lord's offering a representative *repentance* for the race, preferring to put it thus, "that He offered a representative act of adhesion to the divine law, and of repudiation of the unrighteousness which transgressed it. That two-fold act is the utterance to God of the true eternal life of mankind" (page 178).

Coming to the heart of the matter, the author inquires into the primal relation of God to the human race in virtue of which He demands and provides the Atonement. And here he teaches with much emphasis and illustration that the Fatherhood of God is the ultimate truth, all-inclusive and all-controlling, containing in it the functions that belong to Him as Judge and King. He insists on our finding the clue to God's action along the lines of the noblest human fatherhood, pointing out that it is of a fatherhood stripped of lofty and moral features that men have thought when they hesitated to apply this conception to the history of redemption. The rule of God is fatherly, and redemption but "restores and fulfils a sonship which had existed before." He calls attention to the fact that, while forensic ideas are in constant use by St Paul in the exposition of the Gospel, he never uses them in connection with the death of Christ. But if God be Father, wherein lies the necessity for satisfaction in forgiveness? The author's

answer is the following: "In dealing with a disobedient child, the father has to do justice to his own character and will as an authority over the child—an authority representing the ideal of what the child should become, and guiding him on the way to its realisation. He has to assert the sanctity of the law which has been broken, and to secure its recognition. He has to bring home to the child the consciousness of wrong-doing. All this is the work of punishment. It is most truly in the interests of the child himself. And satisfaction is made by an act which in its various aspects is at once a submission to the father's authority, an offering of homage and reparation to the law, an expression of agreement with the father's mind, and a surrender to his love. . . . A father's forgiveness is more than the pardon of a king, it is the restoration of the child to the fellowship of light and love. . . . That restored sonship is brought about, and is proved only by homage to the violated law, in submission to the punishment which expresses the mind of the father, and asserts the supremacy of the law" (pp. 268-270).

Accordingly, the value of the death of Christ as a satisfaction lies in the perfect response He therein made to the Father's dealing with Him, in His perfect self-surrender in the presentation of Himself to God, in His unfailing trust, His unflinching loyalty to righteousness—in short, in the perfection of His obedience to the Will of God.

Further, this act of obedience was a race-act. "It was so performed by Him for the race, that what He did once for all on behalf of the race may be extended to and repeated (as far as this is intrinsically possible) in the experience of each individual penitent who comes to God" (p. 286). Strictly speaking, then, the death of Christ was not an act of Substitution, but of Representation. And the end of the satisfaction it offered is accomplished when men are restored by it to that true life of which Jesus is the archetype, which reached its highest expression in His death. Apart from its efficacy as expiating sin, the spiritual content of the passion and death of Christ, the author contends, has a positive value as the fulfilment of the true life of humanity. He maintains in consequence that, had sin never entered, the incarnation would still have taken place as necessary to the exhibition of the true life of man.

Several supplementary chapters are added. One deals with the ethical perfection of our Lord, a discussion called for, the author thinks, in any doctrine that treats the moral elements of the Atonement as essential to the satisfaction of God. The philosophic grasp of the author is very conspicuous in this chapter. In those that follow he treats of the eternal relationship of our Lord to the human race, and the bearing of His Divinity on the Atonement.



He holds that before we can apprehend the response to the Father's Will contained in the sufferings and death of Christ as belonging ideally to the race, and having the power of spiritual reproduction in those who believe in Him, we must posit an organic relation of Christ to mankind antecedent to His appearing in the flesh. In this connection he enters on a full discussion of those passages in John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Colossians that bear upon the pre-existence of Christ and his cosmical relations. It may be questioned whether the general position of the author is strengthened by his deductions from these sources, or by his attempt to base the Fatherhood of man to God on a relationship of Fatherhood to Sonship internal to the Godhead. But I think in his main contention the writer has made good his case. I have briefly outlined the scheme of thought unfolded in his book, but what has been said must fail to give any adequate impression of the wealth of thought it contains. It is a book to be read and re-read, and is sure to yield spiritual nutrition to those who master its contents.

D. SOMERVILLE.

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### **Studies in Hebrew Proper Names.**

*By G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., Lecturer on Hebrew and Old Testament Theology in Mansfield College, late Senior Kennicott Scholar in the University of Oxford. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896. Crown 8vo, pp. xiii. 338. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THERE are recent works on this subject, but the field has never been explored so thoroughly. Mr Gray had at his disposal the researches of a number of scholars, but he has largely added to the facts, and formed always an independent and often an original judgment upon them. The legion of O.T. personal names has been examined, the early versions consulted in all cases of *hapax legomena*; and investigations have been made into the inscriptions of cognate languages. The resulting material has been chronologically arranged, and divided according to its character, into a series of elaborate but clear tables, and the evidence thus obtained applied not only to problems of O.T. criticism, but to those of Israel's religious development. The review of a work, so profuse in details and so relevant to all the main questions of O.T. science, will best be accomplished by first summarising its general method and conclusions, and then selecting for criticism some one section of its great range.

Mr Gray, after leading evidence, comes to the preliminary conclusion that while in later times—probably from the end of the fourth century onwards (though this period, in view of the evidence of Chronicles, appears a little late)—the custom prevailed among the



Jews of calling children after kinsmen and other persons, in early Israel there was only one custom which controlled the free choice of names, viz., that of bestowing within the same family names related in form, and that significant names were as a general rule conferred with a distinct reference either religious or secular. Dividing the age in which such significant names prevailed into four periods—Pre-Davidic, Davidic, Later Monarchy (in two sections divided by the close of eighth century), and Post-Exilic—Mr Gray proposes to ask : Was each of these classes of names *created* in all periods? Was it equally *distributed* over all? What was its geographical distribution? He argues that the names of the first period should reflect the condition of the unsettled, still loosely-knit tribes; those of the second the national unity and success; those of the third the influence of the prophets; those of the fourth the influence of the realisation of their teaching in exile. Classes of names spread over all periods should reflect ideas not inconsistent with the development of Israel's life and of prophecy. Those frequent in the earlier period, but non-existent or only sporadic later, should reflect ideas in conflict with the later conditions, while those increasingly frequent should reflect the influence of the great religious teachers.

The bulk of the rest of the volume is occupied with an enquiry into the actual prevalence of the different classes of names at different periods. For this purpose Mr Gray employs only those writings of the Old Testament whose historical character has been established by modern criticism. He then proceeds to enquire into the personal names assigned to various periods by the writings which have been impugned by criticism—viz., the Chronicles and the Priestly Document of the Hexateuch. If he finds that both of these assign to the earlier periods of the history classes of names which the well-established books record the formation, or use, of only in later periods, he will have provided a considerable buttress to the theory of the late date and artificial character of the Chronicles and the Priestly Document.

In his next chapter, therefore, Mr Gray gives exhaustive lists of the chief classes of proper names in Israel, as recorded in the historical books of the O.T., and after a detailed examination reaches the following conclusions. Names compounded with '*ab*, "father," were freely formed in Israel to the time of David, but the formation had become obsolete long before the Exile. Names compounded with '*ah*, "brother," were in use from the earliest times, and most frequent under David and his immediate successors; after the seventh century the *formation* became obsolete, and even the existing names fell into disuse. Personal names compounded with '*am*, which, except in three cases, Mr Gray takes to mean "kinsman," were formed in ancient times, but ceased to be formed or used about

the eighth century. The few compounded with *dod* and *ham* also early became obsolete. Of names compounded with *ben* or *bath* there is no sure evidence that any were borne by Hebrew individuals. The particles, 'ab, 'ah, 'am, *dod* and *ham* (for a few exceptions see p. 83) Mr Gray takes to be not in the construct before the other part of the name in which each occurs, and not in the nominative with the first personal suffix, but in the nominative pure and simple with *yod* as a binding letter; the second half of the name, noun or adjective, forming a predicate to the first half. For example, 'abiel, "the" or "a father is God." Opposite opinions are maintained by Gesenius, Nöldeke, Robertson Smith (2nd ed. of *Rel. of Semites*, 45 n. 2); but Mr Gray exposes the insuperable difficulties of their positions, and argues conclusively for his own. The prefixes *ben* and *bath* in personal names he takes to be in the construct, before the nouns with which they are compounded.

The next class Mr Gray examines is that of Animal Names. He estimates probably more than half as foreign; town and tribal names, of which a very large proportion (47 out of 67) belong to the south of the country, form two-thirds of the whole, and only about a fifth at most are the names of Hebrew individuals, none of which are post-exilic, and only three or four of which occur in each of the earlier periods. He does not think they prove a totem stage in the development of Israel; but the totem theory is so far favoured that they receive from it a reasonable explanation. In any case, "this system of worship and organisation was on the wane before the Davidic period, but left behind it certain superstitious ideas and practices which at times asserted themselves in the subsequent centuries," e.g., under Manasseh, as is proved by several contemporaries of Josiah, who are called after unclean animals.

Mr Gray then discusses the very important compound names containing an element denoting dominion. Those composed with מלך disappear before the Exile—all except מלכיה, which only then begins to occur. Personal names with בעל (except two in 1 Chron. ii.-ix.) are not found after the time of David; those with ארן, never frequent, cease before the Exile. Mr Gray argues for the opinion that all these words are used in Hebrew personal names as titles of Jehovah.

The fourth class of names examined by Mr Gray are those compounded with a Divine Name. He begins with those containing Jah, about 156 in number. With one exception they are of Hebrew families or persons; they are found in all the periods, and from Period III. onwards become more popular than those with 'el; in Period IV. those in which the Divine element is initial are virtually extinct, while those in which it is ultimate are still frequent. Of the 113 Hebrew personal names compounded with 'el, both for-

mations are found in the earliest period ; but after the Exile, while those in which the Divine element is ultimate were much fewer, those in which it was initial had all but exhausted themselves.

In Chapter III., on the Historical Character of the Names in Chronicles and P, Mr Gray applies his material to questions of O.T. criticism. With very great reason and force he argues that the names in Chronicles "largely consist of those of the compilers' own time (c. 300 B.C.), that they are at least not genuine survivals from the days of David and the subsequent kings." He shows distinctly that the well-defined peculiarities which distinguish earlier from later names recorded in approximately contemporary writings are "wholly or largely obliterated" in the name lists in Chronicles, and in these "the names of an early period are marked by the same characteristics that unquestionably mark the post-Exilic names." For instance, "the Chronicler's Davidic names are seen to have a Post-Exilic and not a Davidic complexion."

The names peculiar to the Priestly writing have certain features of their own, from which Mr Gray argues that while some are names which were current early, others originated only after the Exile (though attributed by P to early times), while others are artificial, and appear never to have been current in ordinary life at all. In the rest of this chapter Mr Gray applies his data to test the genuineness of certain parts of Chronicles. He finds them confirm the conclusion of Graf that 1 Chron. xxiii.-xxvii. is devoid of historical worth, that the Levitical genealogies in 1 Chron. v. 27—vi. 53 are equally worthless ; that, judged by the names in 2 Chron. xx. 14, the accompanying incident (Mr Gray is here a little vague) is of doubtful historical worth. Similarly with 2 Chron. xvii., 7 ff., and, though less so, with lists in Chs. xi. and xii. Mr Gray concludes with a detailed examination of 1 Chron. i.-ix., in which he distinguishes between place and personal names, and between passages based on ancient and trustworthy sources and passages which the standard of names shows to be unhistorical.

In the last chapter Mr Gray proceeds to cross-examine his evidence, and strikingly confirms some of the earlier conclusions of his volume. For instance, the conclusion that the formation of compounds with 'el was obsolete before the Exile, is strengthened by observing that "names of this class in 1 Chron. ii.-ix. occur in sections in which the rest of the names appear to be ancient when judged by other tests based on the early writings." More interesting are the general conclusions which Mr Gray proceeds to draw from a survey of the whole range of his results. He sees three tendencies of change in the history of Hebrew names : "There is an increasing tendency to confer upon children names consisting of a sentence stating a fact or expressing a wish" ; "In later times a

larger proportion of names possess a religious significance than in early times"; "and in later times Hebrew proper names, as a whole, become more sharply distinguished from those of contemporary Semites than had been the case in early times." Names expressive of certain ancient ideas and superstitions tend to disappear, *e.g.*, what are presumably totem names, and names expressive of kinship with Deity, like Abijah, Abiel, Eli'am, Ahijah; while names compounded with that of Jehovah increase faster than others. Again, names in which Jehovah is an element, by their early infrequency support the tradition that it was Moses who introduced among the Hebrews the worship of Jehovah; for long they were confined to the families and circles most identified with His worship, and this disproves the theory of Friedrich Delitzsch that the יה was a popular form, and יהוה the form used by priests and prophets. Everything shows that names in יה began in the more select circles of Jehovah's adherents, and spread downwards among the people. In conclusion, Mr Gray traces through the changes of formation in names compounded with יה and יהוה, a subtle and extremely interesting growth in the religious consciousness of Israel. Not only is there a decrease of names which signify the Deity's relationship to the nation, and an increase of those which emphasise His activities and His attributes; but while the earlier compounds, by giving greater prominence to the divine name, betray the fact of a wish (however unconscious) to emphasise the personality of the Deity (presumably in opposition to other gods), the later names, by giving greater prominence to the quality or action assigned to Him, prove that His place in Israel's faith, as their one and only God, was assured, and, as it were, taken for granted.

This hasty summary of Mr Gray's volume will prove better than any mere heaping of praise upon it would have done, its laborious thoroughness in all details, its candour and carefulness of argument, and its very great importance both for O.T. criticism, and for the history of the religion of Israel. I feel that this review justifies the impression left on my mind after twice reading the book, that we have in it one of the most important contributions to Old Testament scholarship that have appeared for several years past, whether in Germany or in our own country. His most important conclusions, of course, are that the chronicler and the author of the Priestly writing have assigned to early periods of the history names and groups which the unimpugned records of the O.T. show to have appeared only in Exilic or post-Exilic times, when, according to the critical theory, Chronicles and the Priestly writings were composed. On this point Mr Gray has against him the authority of Dillmann, who defended the ancient character of the personal names in P, and he is certain to be attacked here by many living scholars of

note. Professor Hommel has just attacked him (in *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*) on the ground that a number of the formations in P which Mr Gray considers late, are found in S. Arabian or Babylonian inscriptions of a very early date. Mr Gray has replied in the *Expositor* for September 1897, and I need not therefore go into the matter here farther than to make these two remarks. A great deal of the evidence from Arabian inscriptions on which Prof. Hommel depends is of still unproved date; and even if it were certain that the formations in question prevailed in S. Arabia in the Mosaic period, that would not prove that they then prevailed among the Hebrews, but would be evidence of much less value than the fact that none of the earlier historic documents of the Hebrews themselves assign these formations to that period. Further, Prof. Hommel has not had Mr Gray's complete case concerning the names in P before him, nor does he appear to have examined their characteristics.<sup>1</sup>

I pass to Mr Gray's treatment of place-names, in which I feel there are some conclusions not established by his evidence, or at least requiring some qualification.

Take first the names of places called after the names of animals. Mr Gray, without stating a conclusion on the matter, appears to incline to the theory that these may be traced to a totem organisation (p. 107). This, of course, is possible, and in some cases probably certain. Beth-Dagon is an instance. The towns of this name, more numerous than those given by Mr Gray, were doubtless centres of the worship of the Philistine fish god. The two he gives are near the coast in Judah, by Jaffa, and in Asher. The names of the other two known to us are still extant on trade routes, across the central range of the country, where the Philistines would be anxious to establish garrisons and markets for the command of the cross-trade, that fed the main line of commerce on which their own cities were placed. One of them, the present 'Ain Duk, the ancient Docus or Dagon (Josephus xiii., *Ant.* viii. 1) between Michmash and Jericho, was, we know, upon a road contested and long held by the Philistines. The other, the present Beit Dejan, stood a few miles east of Shechem upon the ancient road which crossed the central range between Ebal and Gerizim, and struck down to the Jordan valley near the present ford Ed Damieh, and which therefore was also certain to be held by the Philistines in the days of their supremacy.

Again, in holding that the name of a Deity has often dropped out of a place-name compounded with Beth, Mr Gray, notwithstanding some great authorities on the opposite side, is undoubtedly right.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gray has actually shown in his article how far Prof. Hommel's Arabian and Babylonian data confirm his (Mr Gray's) conclusions about the names in P.

This is obvious in the case of *Ma'on* or "dwelling"; the full name was Beth Ba'al-Ma'on. By analogy Ma'on assists us to the same conclusion about Beth-Pe'or, even if the other reasons adduced by Mr Gray were not sufficient. We may add that the second Pe'or which he quotes is no doubt the present Khurbet Faghur on the road between Bethlehem and Hebron, and that Pe'or is probably "gap" or "opening."

But from this undoubtedly frequent combination of Beth with the name of the Deity, Mr Gray draws a general conclusion (p. 324). "The term following Beth in place-names is so frequently of a Divine character as to lead us to expect it to have been the same even in names where this is no longer manifestly the case." Mr Gray has not gone fully into the meaning of Beth in place-names, or he would hardly have made so general an assertion as that. It is certain that the Hebrew word Beth was (a) by itself used not only as a *house* or *palace*, but in the more general sense of *place*, and even of *receptacle*; and (b) that into its use in many composite place-names, both Hebrew and Arabic, it obviously carries this latter meaning with it. In Hebrew we have Beth 'Abarah, the "House or Place of the Ford" (perhaps in Jer. vii. 24, and proved by sources outside the O.T.); Beth ha-Markabôth, "of the chariots"; Beth ha-Emek, "of the vale"; Beth ha-Kerem, Beth ha-'Arabah, Beth ha-Jeshimoth, etc.; cf. Arab, Beit 'Anûn, Beit el 'Abâr, "of the cisterns," Beit Râs, etc. It is absurd to suppose that the name of a deity has dropped out of these. It is true that in each of the Hebrew instances the second member of the name has the article; but there are other examples in which the article does not occur, and the second member of the compound is probably the name of some natural feature, e.g., Beth-Eden, Beth-Horon, "place of the hollow way," Beth-Tappuah, or of some human individual, Beth-Pelet (unless this has to do with the root *plt* to "escape"), Beth-'Azmaveth and Beth-Zacharia of Josephus (*J. Wars* i. 5, etc.) and of 1 Maccabees. Beth-'Eked, the shorter form of Beth-'Eked ha-Ro'im, shows why the article need not always be expected with the name of a natural or a historical feature. The second member of the name of which Beth is the first, may originally have been in the construct before some other word now lost. All these cases confirm the possibility of finding for other place-names compounded with Beth, another derivation than from the name of a deity, and make it at least questionable that we should "expect" (as Mr Gray says) the latter.

But if so we remove all obligation to find for such names as Beth-Car, Beth-Leba'oth, Beth-Lehem, Beth-Hoglah, Beth-Pases, and Beth-Rehob, a derivation either from divine titles or from totem customs. If Beth was often compounded, as we have seen, with a



natural feature, and carries with it no necessity for us to interpret that natural feature as having originally had totem value; it is impossible to prove that such names as are quoted in the preceding sentence afford by the presence of Beth evidence of totemism in Canaan. They do not so much as prove probability, though, of course, there may be other grounds for believing in the existence of totemism in the districts they designate. In other place-names derived from the names of animals, but not containing Beth, we have even less proof of a totem origin. Totemism is, of course, quite possible in some of the cases; but in very many the alternative appears probable that the place was called from its natural association with either an individual, or large numbers, of the species whose name it bears. This seems quite clear in the case of En-gedi, a most natural name for that locality, apart altogether from totemism, of which we know not whether it existed there or not. That the frequent place-name 'Ophrah and 'Ephron, (instances occur east of Jordan that Mr Gray has not quoted), in both forms derived from the name for "Gazelle," was due to some natural association with that animal is at least quite as probable as that it was due to a religious association. So with Parah, Eglon, En-Eglaim, Hazar-Susah, all called after domestic animals; and Humtah, Ascent of Akrabbim, Mt. Se'ir, Hazar-Shual, Shaalubbim, and others, called after wild beasts. I should say that in names not of human settlements, but which were applied to natural objects like mountains, or to regions, or to a pass like the Ascent of Akrabbim, the derivation was quite certainly from some natural feature, and not from a totem. Besides we have in the life of Mohammed and the accounts of the early Khalifs so many instances of places being called after animals, owing to an encounter with a wild beast or an accident to a domestic one, that we can well believe a similar habit to have prevailed in Canaan.

In connection with the same subject, is it not far-fetched to derive Shahasumah (Jo. xix. 22) from B'ne Shahas, the poetical name for lion. Not only is this unlikely, but there is a more natural root, Shahas, "to jut up" or "tower." Again, more probable than the derivations reported by Mr Gray on p. 117, f. n. 5, of מִלְכָּאֵל is that the word is a compound of מֶלֶךְ and אֵל.

Mr Gray has collected the compound tribal and place-names, the first element in which is the imperfect of the verb. He shows that in them the formation is early, but not early in personal names—probably not before the eighth century. He makes the plausible suggestion (218) that the verb is voluntative, *e.g.*, Yezre' 'el = let El sow! but in the five names of towns (42) in which עַל is the nominative, he takes it (58) not as the name of a deity, but as



“people.” If any proof were needed that it did not mean “kinsman,” as it means in the personal names in which it appears, that would be supplied by the fact that no place-name is compounded with any of the other names of relatives.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH

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### British Moralists.

*Being Selections from Writers principally of the Eighteenth Century. Edited, with an Introduction and Analytical Index, by L. A. Selby-Bigge, M.A., formerly Fellow and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. In two volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxx. 425, 451. Price, 18s.*

MR SELBY-BIGGE'S Selections from the Moralists of the Eighteenth Century will be useful to students, and will be welcomed by academic teachers. The selection of passages is judicious, and they are sufficiently copious to afford an adequate idea of the style and spirit, as well as of the doctrines of the authors whose works are laid under contribution. The Bibliographical Index is full and accurate, and will be a handy guide to those who are minded to extend their reading beyond the Selections. The volumes convey a truer impression of the real character of British Philosophy in the eighteenth century than the condensed accounts in Manuals, which often miss its spirit and purpose. The value of the work is enhanced by the Introduction of the editor, who contributes some lucid and acute criticisms of the general tendencies of eighteenth century Philosophy, and of some of its special doctrines. The Introduction opens with a useful caution, bidding us to beware of confounding the Satirist with the Moralist. Satire, Mr Selby-Bigge writes, stops short of Philosophy, even of Sceptical Philosophy. The whole force of Satire, as distinguished from Cynicism, is a force of contrast. The Satirist is content to show that what men flatter themselves is moral conduct is generally immoral conduct, when judged by the standard which those men profess. But the Satirist's denunciation of the sham is by implication a recognition of the reality. This remark is especially needed in the case of Mandeville, who is sometimes cited as a terrible illustration of the depths of degradation to which Moral Philosophy sank in the eighteenth century. “It does not need much penetration to see,” writes Mr Selby-Bigge, “that when Mandeville is maintaining the odious thesis of ‘private vices, public benefits,’ he is really concerned to argue the converse, viz., that persons lauded as public benefactors often show small regard for the Christian code of

morals which they profess, and no regard at all for the public interest for the promotion of which they take credit ; that material progress by no means implies equivalent spiritual advance." A similar remark may be made regarding Hobbes, who, although he belonged to the seventeenth century, is included in the Selections. The object of Hobbes was more political than philosophical, and his moral theory must not be taken too seriously.

The true representatives of British Moral Philosophy in the eighteenth century were thinkers with a serious purpose—intent on discovering reasonable sanctions for public and private virtue. They are thus described by Mr Selby-Bigge.

"Satire, so far as it is an exposure of the sham, rests upon and assumes a reality of some kind or other in virtue. The British moralists, whether sceptical or otherwise, ask what is the reality ? what is the meaning of the right and wrong, good and evil, to which the evil liver pays the tribute of hypocrisy, that is, what does the ordinary man mean by them ? The level of the plain man, and even the 'honest farmer,' is in the first instance adopted, not that of the saint in his cell, nor that of the philosopher in his closet, and his experience is treated as supplying the material for further examination. Just as the satirist appeals to the intelligence of the plain man and is refuted by an appeal to his experience, so the moralists of the period start from the plain man and the common sense of plain men (afterwards to be elevated into the principle of a system) in their inquiry into the reality of virtue. They concentrate their illustration on the phenomena of the normal moral consciousness in a cool and impartial manner which reminds us of Aristotle, and has not been exhibited since Aristotle. They thought seriously about the content of plain men's moral judgments and their natural and legitimate implications, and there is perhaps no body of ethical writing within its own sphere that can compare for originality and sincerity. Philosophy is no longer 'a self-centred speculation, an oracle of wisdom ; it is brought down from inaccessible heights and compelled to be intelligible,' and the public is umpire. It is not a small thing that Philosophy should be written in the vulgar tongue, and should use the words of ordinary men."

The services rendered by the Moralists of the eighteenth century cannot be fully appreciated without taking account of the character of the age in which they lived and wrote. It was a period of convalescence from a mood of moral helplessness induced by the disappearance of high hopes. England had passed through the exaltation of feeling caused by the Renaissance, through the baffled struggles of Puritanism to realise higher spiritual ideals, followed by the orgies of the Restoration. Disillusion and

disappointment inclined men to adopt a purely selfish theory of life and of morals. The Moralists, for the most part, represented a reaction against this tendency; and their prosaic common sense made them effective opponents of a distemper which was the result of unreasonable extremes. But their "home-made philosophy" has raised up against them a motley troop of enemies. The idealist and the romanticist here joined with zealous preachers of religion, in a chorus of disapprobation of writers who were stigmatised as unmetaphysical, wanting in imagination, and lacking in religious zeal. They have been especially denounced by religious writers, because, as it was alleged, they endeavoured to make morals a substitute for religion as a basis of society and as a guide of conduct. Mr Mark Pattison, not usually distinguished by an excess of religious zeal, described the eighteenth century as a period of spiritual abasement and poverty, and he gives as a reason of this, that it was a time when morals were represented as a proper study of man and his only business. To this grave charge Mr Selby-Bigge replies, as we think with justice:—"It would not be too much to say that the theological or religious revival of the present day, which is certainly not unspiritual, owes much of its richness and fulness to the labours of what is commonly stigmatised as a most unspiritual age. Whether in the last resort religion and morality merge, is a question which is not in any way prejudged when we congratulate our moralists on their emancipation from the theological tradition of their time. Their very narrowness certainly enabled them to do their work better, and in the result they produced for the use of future philosophers a mass of purely moral data, which would have been both smaller and less pure if they had had the capacity or the inclination to consider their bearings on more general problems."

To these remarks it may be added, that both religion and theology have profited by the work of the Moralists of the eighteenth century. Modern religion and theology owe to them the more reasonable temper and the saner moral discernment, which distinguish them alike from the faith of mediæval times, and from the religion of English Puritanism.

JOHN GIBB.

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### **The Christ of History and of Experience: Being the Kerr Lectures for 1897.**

*By Rev. David W. Forrest, M.A., Wellington Church, Glasgow.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xx. 471. Price,  
10s. 6d.*

THE problem, to the solution of which the author addresses himself in this thoughtful and valuable treatise, is that presented by the

co-ordination of two elements in Christianity, the historical and the spiritual. "While Christianity professes to be adapted to all times and conditions of an immediate reality in experience, it is yet anchored to one particular epoch and to a special personality in the past" (p. 4). This co-ordination seems to many minds, and these devout and earnest, to be unnatural and harmful to Christianity as a spiritual faith. That communion with God should be bound up with "a certain intellectual attitude to a historical event" seems to them to be destructive of the spiritual power of Christianity, to alienate clear and honest thinkers, and to lead to the identification of faith with mere assent to unverified and unverifiable facts. There can be no question that such cultured and spiritually-minded critics of Christianity do exist in large numbers. Coarse and flip-pant assailants of the faith are fewer than they used to be. Their attacks give little trouble. It is otherwise, however, when we find men willing to go all lengths with us in admiration of Christ, tracing to Him all the deepest thoughts of men regarding God, claiming to regulate their own thinking and living by the truth of His teaching and the beauty of His life, yet declaring that they cannot accept the alleged facts of His Incarnation and Resurrection, and maintaining that to make belief in these events an essential element in Christian faith and a term of communion with the Christian Church, is to do them grievous injustice and to alienate from them their spiritual heritage in Christianity. To such men, Mr Forrest speaks with the frank courtesy of one who knows them and appreciates the nobility of their thought and the purity of their nature. His book, while in the form of an essay, is at the heart of it the appeal of a Christian to those who are "not far from the kingdom." If it shall reach them, or even if it shall aid believers in historic Christianity to understand their position and help to win them, the aim of these Lectures will have been accomplished. The sneer of a recent reviewer at "angelic doctors" is wholly undeserved in this case. This is no remote spectator, no dilettante essayist, but a believing man, speaking out of the fulness of experience.

The book discusses these two elements in Christianity, the historical and the spiritual; and the conclusion it seeks to establish is that the historical implies the spiritual, and is unintelligible apart from the claim which the Church makes on behalf of Christ; and that the spiritual depends upon the historical, and cannot retain its power and value if it be torn away from its roots in historic fact.

The volume consists of nine lectures, which may be grouped as follows:—

I. The Historic Christ: Lectures I. to III. 1. In his opening lecture Mr Forrest leads us, with great freshness of treatment, to consider what is involved in Christ's personality as presented to us

in the record. In the self-consciousness of man there is "a dual witness." "At the same moment that it encourages him by the assurance of his progress and growth in moral power, it alarms and depresses him by testifying to the widening of the gulf that separates him from his ideal. The same experience that declares his increasing unity with God emphasises his divergence from Him" (p. 8). This duality is found in the consciousness of all men who are making progress in goodness. It is deepest in those who are most good. Christ, it will be granted, was a good man. Nay, to Him we owe the ideal of goodness which creates in us the keenest sense of our disparity with it. Yet in His self-consciousness there was no such dual witness. To all men save Him "the harmony and the divergence are two permanent sides of the one spiritual experience." He alone of the Sons of men had the "sense of harmony *without* the divergence" (p. 17). No note of contribution supplies a minor tone to His prayers and meditations. The sense of unworthiness, which, if it exist at all, must colour all thought and feeling and give character to all utterance is wholly absent. What are we to make of this? Grant Christ to have been good, and the irresistible inference is that His goodness is unique, and constitutes a fundamental difference of being between Him and other men. "This is not a difference of attainment in goodness, it is a different type of moral character, another order of humanity" (p. 31). He stands forth perfectly human, yet absolutely distinct, unique, inexplicable in the hypothesis that He was merely what other men are. 2. In the second lecture we are led to consider this unique type of man, and to ask what we are to think of Him. "What manner of man is this?" Here, however, it is to be remembered that, since He is unique, we have no standard to compare Him with. He must Himself supply us with the key to unlock the mystery. He must be His own interpreter. What "significance He has for humanity as a pledge of spiritual power or joy, can only be known through His self-manifestation" (p. 45). When, accordingly, we listen to His own unfoldings of what He was, we are struck at once with one dominant note, His self-assertion. He exhibits absolute authority in the whole domain of spiritual truth. He estimates character, pronounces judgment, and proclaims commands with royal assurance. He makes loyalty to Himself the condition of salvation. He claims to be Arbiter in the final judgment of men. All this He does, while at the same time He declares that He is "meek and lowly in heart." Here in this self-assertion of Jesus, so intolerable in other men, we find the answer to the problem presented by His moral consciousness. That unique consciousness of harmony with God and goodness is explained by the unique relationship to God implied in these claims of Jesus. "They are not an aggravation of

the problem which His character presents; they are in a very real sense an alleviation, for they offer an explanation of the existence in humanity of a moral consciousness which, without them, would be inexplicable" (p. 60). 3. The third lecture deals with the manner in which the knowledge of what He was grew upon the mind of Jesus, and the means by which He communicated it to others. The growth of the self-consciousness of Jesus is treated by Mr Forrest with the reverence and absence of dogmatism which the subject demands. He places knowledge of His person and of His mission much earlier than recent critics like Wendt have done. His remark that "we are a thousand-fold more likely to err in ascribing to Him in His own sphere too little knowledge than too much" (p. 106) is a salutary warning which contains as much of sound sense as it does of the reverence due to the theme. The chief means adopted by Christ for making Himself known were teaching, miracles, and personal influence. It is well, in view of those estimates of Christ which are so confident, to be reminded that these means must be co-ordinated in our thought if we are to attain the full truth. No study of the mind of the Master is other than misleading when His teaching receives the sole attention. In His training of the Twelve, He sought not to compel their minds by external pressure, but to lead them through acquaintance with Himself to the discovery of what He was. In this effort He was completely successful. Not, indeed, that they had in His lifetime attained to a theological statement of His person; but they did firmly grasp the truth that He was Himself the heart of His message; and that they could only do His work through the continuance of His presence with them. "When they stood at the close of the apocalypse, and searched their heart for its meaning, they had nothing to declare which had any power or significance apart from His continual presence."

II. The Risen Christ: Lectures IV. to VII. 1. The fact of the Resurrection—Lecture IV. Given such a personality as we see Christ to have been, we are prepared to expect its triumph over the material conditions of life. The objectivity of the resurrection is proved partly by the inadequacy of any theory to account for Christianity apart from it, but chiefly through the "unique character" (p. 146) of the appearances of the risen Christ. They are the revelation in terms of Sense of that which is above Sense. Their aim was "to prove by adequate signs, to those who had received the ineffaceable impression of the character of Jesus, and had become profoundly convinced that in Him God's Kingdom centred, not only the persistence of His life through death, but its dominance over it, the triumph of His total human personality over every alien influence whether spiritual or material" (p. 152).



The fact and the nature of the resurrection assure us that "the redemption of Christ was no less the rectification of the material than of the spiritual universe" (p. 155). In the resurrection, Christ is lifted to a central place at once in the material and in the spiritual universe. "He who appeared as a single figure in history is recognised as in reality above historical limitations, the abiding Lord and life of souls" (p. 158). 2. The reflective expression of the fact. Here Mr Forrest comes into direct conflict with Ritschlianism. The Ritschlians, proceeding on their essentially metaphysical theory of the relativity of knowledge, deny the necessity of going behind the impressions which the Jesus of history makes upon us to any metaphysical doctrine of His Person. Mr Forrest replies in effect that the distinction thus drawn between phenomena and noumena is speculatively unsound, and practically impossible. The "impression of the character of Jesus" had from the beginning elements, which may be called metaphysical, if by that term we point to objective reality inaccessible to the senses, without which, therefore, this impression could not have been received. That which produced the Church was the revelation to man of a Personality, human yet superhuman, in full union with man and in full union of character and essence with God. The reflective expression of this conviction did not come at once, but it was a necessity of thought and life, and it came very early. Mr Forrest treats this part of his subject with great fullness, with competent learning and close reasoning. It is impossible to follow him in detail; but the scope of his treatment may be indicated. (1) The Person of Christ—Lecture V. His contention here is that the risen Christ must necessarily be conceived as having a cosmic position. "He who was central for the redemption of man must be as central for his creation." "The supremacy of Christ . . . must have a universal reference" (p. 175). This doctrine he exhibits as the teaching of Paul and John; and indicates as a necessary implicate of faith in Christ as Redeemer. (2) The Work of Christ—Lecture VI. He argues for an objective element in the redemptive work of Christ as necessary for the communication to humanity of the spirit of sonship. If Christ is to impart this spirit to men He must deliver them from condemnation, and this He could only do by becoming their representative in their sinful and alienated condition, (p. 218). Mr Forrest asserts the necessity of the atoning death of Christ, while, at the same time he guards against any abstract treatment of the death as a thing isolated from the life and total personality of Christ. This leads him to a view of faith which, though found in all evangelical preaching, is often lacking in theological statement. Faith is directed to the living Christ, and is not a formal acquiescence in

His work. It is "a real surrender" (p. 245), "a forthgoing of the self, an act of self-committal" (p. 277); it issues in a real union to Christ; and thus justification and sanctification are bound together in one experience, instead of falling apart, as they too often do in the legal terminology of dogmatic. (3) The Realisation of the Fact—Lecture VII. The new life does not act *in vacuo*. It is essentially social and organic. Mr Forrest deals freshly and helpfully with the themes of (1) its organ, faith; (2) its means of development, the Church; and (3) its field of exercise, human nature.

III. The Relation of the Historical and the Spiritual Elements in Faith—Lectures VIII. and IX. The conclusions of these chapters have been established by the previous discussions. The Christ of history is an insoluble puzzle, a meaningless enigma, if He be not that which He is to Christian experience. The Christ of experience would be impossible without the historic record through which we come into direct contact with Him as a living personality. The attempt to rest the proof of Christianity on subjective experience alone must end in disaster, surrendering as it does the very citadel of the faith, and turning Christ into an illusion begotten of human longing.

The closing lecture contains an interesting discussion of the question, Is faith in Christ necessarily conscious? The answer of the author is that faith is an energy of the soul deeper than intellect. Where, therefore, the intellect is barred to Christ, not by moral fault, but by impenetrable obstacles existing in the circumstances of life, faith may operate and lay hold of Christ, even though the mind recognise Him not, or even in words deny Him. In every case, however, saving faith is one and the same. The distinction between an intellectual blindness that is due to moral fault, and one that is due to circumstances, can be drawn by God alone. To us it is given only to hope.

Estimating the book as a whole, we admire the clear, often eloquent writing, the philosophic breadth and fulness of treatment, the keenness of the critical faculty. Our only complaint of the critiques of systems like Ritschlianism, or Neo-hegelianism, or of writers like Martineau, Carpenter or Dale, is that they are too trenchant, and leave out of account the elements of value contributed even by one-sided or inadequate statements. Inquirers into Christian verities will be met here with an attractive reasonableness and fairness, and an entire absence of dogmatism, while, at the same time, there is the ring of conviction. Students of theology will find here a treatment of doctrine that is resolutely free from abstractness, and a vindication of that which is loftiest in thought as rooted in that which is surest in fact. That a minister, engaged in the work of a



very large congregation, should have been able to produce so learned and comprehensive a study of a great theme is creditable to himself and hopeful for the future of theology in Scotland.

T. B. KILPATRICK.

### **Bases of Religious Belief, Historic and Ideal : an Outline of Religious Study.**

*By Charles Mellen Tyler, A.M., D.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics in Cornell University. New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. x. 273. Price, \$1.50.*

THERE are reasons for thinking that Philosophy of Religion now stands at a turning-point in its career. And it may turn out that the last edition of Pfeiderer's great work (see *The Critical Review*, vol. vii. pp. 131 *sq.*) will mark the close of one period. In these circumstances Professor Tyler is to be congratulated that, in this unpretentious, but most interesting volume, he has put with no little skill the problems as they now stand, and the steps towards their solution which have been taken during the last fifty years. More than this he expressly refrains from essaying. "The writer has aimed to give simply a *résumé* of the conclusions of modern thought. To enter into discussion of critical problems of psychology or metaphysics, he has not attempted ; that would have led him too far afield" (vi.-vii.). The manner in which he has executed his task justifies his "hope that his little book may be of some service to students in our colleges, and to some who propose to enter the pulpit, and that it may help them to appreciate the Divine origin and purpose of the religious belief of humanity" (vii.).

The work is divided into two parts. The first consists of four chapters almost exclusively historical in character. Their titles are as follows : Definition of Religion ; Prehistoric and Historic Data, and their bearing upon the Study of Religion ; Was the beginning of Human History a Moral Catastrophe ? ; Psychological Genesis of Religion. The second part is systematic, being grounded on an "appeal no longer to history, but to the existing consciousness of man" (117). Its five chapters are : Metaphysical Grounds of Religious Belief ; Ethical Grounds ; *Æsthetical* Ground ; Spiritual Love as an Ideal to be realised ; the Ultimate Ground, or God revealed in Human Progress. On the whole, there can be little doubt that the latter is more interesting than the former, because more suggestive and admitting of freer expression of Professor Tyler's own reflections. The following points may be selected for especially favourable mention :—the summary of views held with

regard to the nature of Religion (12 *sq.*); the discussion of the Fall and of the meaning of Sin (36 *sq.*, 62 *sq.*); in chapter iv. of Part I. psychological considerations are advanced that workers in the same field too commonly omit; the psychological stages of religion, though considered somewhat too exclusively from the genetic standpoint, deserve special mention (79 *sq.*); and the same may be said of the presentation of the epochs in early religion and the psychological aspects of some of the great religions (91 *sq.*); the discussion of Semitic religion is hardly so good, but several capital points are made (99 *sq.*). The first chapter of Part II. is in many ways the best in the book. It abounds in excellent points, which are well selected and well taken. Those remarks deserve quotation:—"Aversion to metaphysics is to a great extent the product of mental indolence" (119); "The mind does not make nature; it knows it, because it has an objective reality" (127); "That the power in nature and in mind is the same in its essence, if granted, does not, however, reveal what its essence is" (128); "The acceptance by scientists of the uniformity of Nature is an act of faith in the trustworthiness of Nature—in other words, of faith in its moral character. Theism is thus virtually accepted by every experimenter in science. For the constitution of the world appeals to trust, and never betrays it" (140-1). The analysis of the Ethical Grounds of Religious Belief is also marked by no little insight. The following are courageous and pointed statements:—"It is offensive to reason to affirm that the Moral can come forth from the non-Moral" (159-60); "Determinism, as usually understood, strictly analysed, is pure materialism. Place one psychical state behind another to infinity, there must be a subject of the states" (183); "A Spiritual Philosophy of Religion cherishes no horror of Pantheism when the latter is rightly defined" (208); "Progress in religious conceptions could be made only, *pari passu*, with the advance of the moral ideals" (213); "The conviction gains strength that the progressive unveiling of the ideals of Morality and Religion does not arrest the conflict between sin and righteousness. It becomes a sharper conflict with advancing enlightenment, and it will go on to the last" (254-5); "Because man's advancement has been a natural one, therefore it has been divine" (260). The æsthetical chapter, though not so suggestive, has refreshing sanity, and the same may be said of the analysis of the relation between Duty and Love (214 *sq.*). There is also an admirable account of Mysticism (218 *sq.*), and a judicial treatment of Miracle (237 *sq.*). On the whole, I cannot doubt that the general tendency of Professor Tyler's teaching is substantially correct. The kernel of it may be found in those words: "If 'Nature conceals God,' it is not because Nature is not Divine, it

is rather because God must first be revealed through the moral and religious nature of man, in order to be discerned in Nature" (241). "All the orchestras in the world would in vain pour forth their harmonies, if there were no 'music in the soul.' No truth can be gained by the seer, or imparted by him to another, which cannot become the mental property of him who hears the message, by the co-operation of his intelligence and feeling" (250).

The main criticisms to be passed upon the book relate to blemishes that might easily be removed in a second edition. In the first place, one lights upon some dogmatic statements far too bluntly put. For example, those on the origin of religion (9); that on a postulated Unity of Being (117); that about an "immanent unitary will" (131); the whole reasoning on p. 151; the treatment of freedom (167 and 173); the remarks about personality at the foot of p. 211; the round condemnation of T. H. Green (229). Once more, several times throughout the text, one is jarred by an unnecessary carping at modern psychology. Occasionally, too, Professor Tyler accepts doubtful positions too easily, as that of Maine (76); and the value of the various authorities cited by him is at times unequal (*e.g.*, 150). Surely Burke, Carlyle, and Romanes loom large enough to forego the prefatory "Mr," especially when "Jackson," whoever he may be, goes without it. "Thiele" and "Weissman" are bad misprints, and in the note on p. 143, "130" has crept in for 157. The brilliant writer, who has chosen to be known as "A Troglodyte," can well afford to dispense with the "doctorate" conferred upon him by Professor Tyler, if not by Professor Tyler's university. A more serious defect is the number of second hand references, and the absence of "chapter and verse" from many of those cited at first hand. Both these oversights ought certainly to be removed, for they impart an unscholarly air to the book which it does not merit, and detract from its undoubted qualities as a manual for students.

R. M. WENLEY.

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### **The Rational or Scientific Ideal of Morality.**

*By P. F. Fitzgerald. London: Swann, Sonnenschein & Co.*  
1897. 8vo, pp. xi. 357. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE author of this interesting and suggestive volume—perhaps I should say the authoress—has already issued several volumes on kindred or related themes. *The Philosophy of Self-Consciousness* is designed to present an analysis of Reason and the Rationale of Love. *A Treatise on the Principle of Sufficient Reason* is designed to show the reality of Faith, Love and Hope; or, to quote the writer

and to give a specimen of the phraseology with which the reader has to contend, to give "the synthesis of the spontaneously associated forms of thought in the reflective, introspective, ontological representations of causality which determine the Science of Logic." *A Protest against Agnosticism* furnishes a plea for the reasonableness of belief and a protest against the excessive study of the works of the Physicists. The present volume is intended to describe the Principle of Moral Evolution, morality being defined as "the subsumption of feeling, intelligence and benevolent will in the unity of Being," and the principle of evolution being love. In the sub-title, the volume claims to contain a theory of cognition, a metaphysic of religion, and an *apologia pro amore*.

The work is divided into three Parts. In the first of these the author lays down a variety of positions. The rational ideal must be sought in the domain of metaphysics. The term rational ideal is an ontological expression, seeing that we owe the conception of the ideal, in all forms of it, to transcendental reason. All our noblest aspirations emanate from the same source. A primal instinct makes us seek the Best for Being. The scientific or rational basis of morality lies in correspondence in feeling, intelligence and will with the reflective principle of sufficient reason, this principle being the actualisation and fulfilment of love as it regards self, society, and God: that this love may be actualised and fulfilled is why we act morally. Feeling, intelligence and will must all be satisfied, which can only be where love is supreme. The condition of our spiritual evolution is our being fast bound by love. Love constitutes happiness; but human love without divine love is a house built on sand. The Ideal is not complete or efficient, in the highest sense, without religion. Self love or prudence, social love or sympathy, and divine love or adoration, all play their part in duty, for duty, or God's will, can only be done in our whole being. The ideal conception of Deity is the reflection of a moral consciousness, of which religion is the outcome and the sanction. In natures in which reflective reason is little developed, the ideal of God is anything but that of a just and benevolent Being. Harmony of spiritual Beings, like that of matter and mind, is that from which the happiness of social beings results. The perfection of being is where all divinely established relations hold without contradiction or hindrance. A true moral judgment is the outcome of the complete evolution of the three sources, or principles, of thought, that is of feeling, intelligence and will. These—feeling, intelligence and will—being only imperfectly fulfilled here, we expect their perfect functioning, under more favourable circumstances, in a better land beyond the grave.

In the second Part of the work the author proposes to exhibit

the processes that lead to the conclusions in regard to the moral sense which the third Part is designed to state. Morality is the crowning outcome of spontaneous and reflective thought. As a science morality regards the end or purport of all rational activity, the aim and goal of which is the realisation and the conservation of the integrity of Being. The moral law of action is for the Best for Being. Being, as a whole, must be regarded, divine and human, and what is best for this. Psychical evolution means the development of our faculties of feeling, intelligence and will in the light of the end of these. Spiritual love is God's last and best gift to man : its fulness completes the evolution.

The writer of this volume is endowed with the gift of copious and suggestive expression, and with varied and ample learning. The gift of lucid and convincing exposition is not so apparent. It is often difficult to feel the progressive movement of the intellectual proofs of the positions laid down. The progress of ideas, and the conclusiveness of the chain of reasoning, are obscured by too copious remark. Those who agree with the gifted writer will be content with the illustrations of the main positions, but the gainsayer will, I think, hardly be convinced. The reasoning is not lucid enough ; the compulsion is not urgent enough for the conviction of the adversary. The points to be established are too often rather illustrated than proved. Then technical modes of expression abound, and sometimes obscure the writer's meaning. There is also a lack of precision in the use of terms which is confusing to the reader, hindering his just appreciation of what is said. The perceptive powers of the writer seem to be of a higher order than the reasoning powers. Nowhere is the author at any great pains to be clear and concise. The literary style lacks simplicity, and there are signs of haste in the composition and structure of the book. There appears to be no distinction between morality and religion, while happiness rather than holiness seems to be not simply the goal of human desire, but its proper goal.

It must be added that the volume is a mine of apt quotation and suggestive remark. The writer is a transcendentalist in the best sense of the term, and reveals a mind busy with ideas that have a higher source than the senses, and reach to the highest. Lofty and quickening impulses the work can hardly fail to arouse in those who read it, and there is an evident and burning desire to deliver an ennobling message.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

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**Morale Chrétienne.**

*Par Jules Bovon, docteur en théologie. Tome Premier. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et C<sup>ie</sup>. ; Paris : Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 437. Price, F.7.50.*

PROFESSOR BOVON'S outline of Christian Ethics is part of an extended work on Christian belief and practice. He follows up his two volumes on New Testament Theology and his two volumes on Dogmatics with two on Christian Ethics—the whole to form a comprehensive Study of the Work of Redemption. Only the first of these concluding volumes is published at present ; but that which is still to appear will be occupied with the detailed application of principles, and in the volume before us we find Professor Bovon's general conception of the place of 'Christian Ethics' in Theology and of Christian conduct and character as the 'Practical Consequences of the Work of Redemption.'

It must be admitted that Professor Bovon scarcely fulfils the expectations raised by this imposing array of themes and of successive volumes. We should naturally look for systematic order and systematic completeness, as leading features of a work so carefully concatenated. But while the author possesses many qualifications for his large task—piety, sympathy, learning ; moderation and good judgment ; a lucid and unpretentious style ; as well as real spiritual insight and a certain quiet originality—he does not add to these the gifts of the system-builder.

Anything less systematic than these pages can hardly be imagined. It would be useless to quote the elaborate division into sections and sub-sections, which certainly would not tell its own story. Many topics are discussed with sense and wisdom ; every page is readable ; and the whole has the freshness and reality of first-hand thought, the true and unaffected originality of the man with a mind of his own. But that simple and convincing *order*, which is the proper aim of a treatment so slight and inexhaustive, as it is the only thing that could give it distinction, is altogether lacking. The introduction is meagre and unenlightening ; matter that naturally belonged to it is found loading and obstructing the subsequent argument ; and all through we miss the grasp and penetration, the tact and felicity, of truly systematic thought.

Four subjects should naturally fall to be considered in an introduction to a study of Christian Ethics. Something must first of all be said about the presuppositions of the *ethical* idea and ethical experience generally ; this implies at least an indication of the method and results of a philosophical criticism, and some sort of



Moral Philosophy. Secondly, the presuppositions of *Christian Ethics* should be pointed out; the argument of Theism, and of Christian Theism, being suggested, and the ethical bearings of these beliefs discussed. Thirdly, since in speaking of Christian Ethics we are on definitely dogmatic and *theological* ground it is necessary to determine the place of Ethics, viewed in a theological light, within the encyclopædia of the theological sciences. Lastly, the *history* of Christian theological Ethics would form a natural subject of introductory treatment: the history of moral thought in the Church. The prolegomena to Christian Ethics, that is, should be philosophical, apologetic, encyclopædic, and historical.

Professor Bovon has not cared to distinguish these various lines of thought; and while he touches on them all, it is in a confused and unsatisfactory manner.

He devotes a part of his Introduction to the theistic argument, that God is the postulate of morality. But he gives us on this point only a few pages of somewhat perfunctory and inconclusive suggestions, and turns with manifest preference to the historical question of the relations between morality and religious faith, sketching with a hasty but rather a happy touch the moral effects of the various historical religions and the various types of Christian belief.

The history of moral reflection within the Church is only indicated in the barest outline. Stress is justly laid upon the occasional nature of the moral teaching of the New Testament, and on the unsystematic character of the ethical thought of Christian theologians before they began to be influenced by Kant. The review of the history is followed by an attempt to arrive at the conception of a method in theological ethics and of their place in the theological system as a whole. This is sought by means of a criticism of the ideas of Rothe on the subject. Professor Bovon's objections to Rothe's programme of 'speculative' theology, and to speculation in theology as a substitute for fact and experience, might be met by a distinction of philosophy, and the philosophy of religion, from theology proper—theology as a science, making inductions from its own subject-matter. But taking theology, as the author does, in the latter sense, he has not much difficulty in shewing the legitimacy of an analysis of Christian conduct as a part of it. "Revenons donc à la morale *en tant que branche théologique* pour en marquer la place *dans la théorie du fait chrétien.*" "L'éthique est donc englobée, avec raison . . . dans la théologie systématique, qui se subdivise en dogmatique et en morale." "D'après ce point de vue, la dogmatique partirait de Dieu et la morale de l'homme, c'est à dire que les mêmes sujets reviendraient dans l'une comme dans l'autre sous des aspects divergents. Ainsi la sanctification, traitée au point de vue dogmatique, aurait le caractère d'une œuvre divine, alors que la

morale relèverait le fait humain." M. Bovon in effect adheres to this view, only stipulating that the subject-matter is one, while regarded from two points: "Et si certain sujets reviennent assez naturellement de part et d'autre, ce n'est pas au même point de vue qu'ils apparaissent, ce qui évite les répétitions." Thus, if not with the explicitness that could be desired, yet practically, M. Bovon maintains the thoroughly intelligible conception that Christian Ethics is a branch of theology, or, as he calls it very well, "description du développement *du fidèle*" (pp. 45-56, 65.)

Nor is he oblivious of the philosophical question which I have named as the first previous question in all such discussions of practical ethics. When its theological character is allowed for, Christian Ethics may be regarded as a particular type of what is usually called Applied Ethics or Practical Ethics. The claim of such reflection on the detailed application of moral principles to be called a science, is perhaps a doubtful one; how doubtful, will be perceived when we consider that it is distinguishable only in degree from Casuistry. Its 'practical' value also is measured by the extent to which the conscience really submits to government by rules at all. Mature observation perhaps points to the conclusion that conduct is very little governed by rule or theory. Practical Ethics might indeed be considered to be an art and not a science; and conduct to be the true 'application' of Ethics, the real 'practical' ethics. Applied Ethics, in so far as it is a science, is a branch of the Science of Education; and *Christian* Applied Ethics a branch of Homiletics.

Whatever may be said on these points, there doubtless lies behind all Applied Ethics, as behind conduct itself, a possible criticism of ethical ideas and experience, a Moral Philosophy. M. Bovon is evidently conscious of the need of such an analysis; for at a point very early in his Introduction he specifies (although in too brief terms) as the conditions of moral experience, a moral End of absolute worth and the freedom of the Will (pp. 14-17). It is the principal vice of his work, considered as a systematic treatise, that he postpones the discussion of the issue raised here, and introduces it with a most confusing effect into his analysis of the concrete facts of Christian life and character.

It is accordingly in the body of the work (pp. 71-126) that we are to look for M. Bovon's own finding on the matters of ethical theory. It would be a mistake, however, to assume—as our author seems to do—that only one particular theory of morals can lead to an ethical Didactic. Undoubtedly only one theory can *logically* and *consistently* do so, namely, the true theory; and each of us will naturally consider that that theory is his own. But it is absurd to suggest that Utilitarianism, for instance, can supply no



practical guidance or elevated ideal for life, when it has actually furnished both. You may say that in such applications Utilitarianism is inconsistent (which is the same as to say, it is not the true theory of morals) ; you cannot say it is immoral.

M. Bovon's own position is that of an enlightened and carefully guarded Intuitionism.

"Aussi la conscience, à tous les degrés de son développement, n'est-elle pas, comme les auteurs spiritualistes l'ont souvent dit, une faculté spéciale ; c'est bien plutôt l'homme dans son ensemble en tant qu'il se sait lié par le devoir" (p. 108).

"Ferme dans son principe, le devoir est éminemment changeant par sa forme : aussi la conscience qui en est la révélatrice et l'interprète ne nous présente-t-elle pas le bien dans son abstraction" (p. 109).

Comparing the intuition of moral worth with the mental law of causality, he says :

"Cette règle qui s'impose à la raison, dont elle est comme un élément constitutif, est ce qu'on nomme une catégorie innée. Est ce à dire qu'elle se manifeste abstraitement et avant l'expérience ? Nullement, car nous en prenons conscience lorsque les faits qui nous frappent nous amènent à l'appliquer : elle est liée à la sensation bien qu'elle ne dérive pas du monde sensible" (p. 103).

On Freedom he expresses himself thus :

"Il ne faut pas confondre, ainsi qu'on l'a fait souvent, libre arbitre avec caprice. L'homme n'est pas libre dans ce sens qu'il agisse sans mobile : mais derrière les impulsions qui le sollicitent, il y a le moi qui s'attache à l'une d'elles pour lui donner la force d'agir. En d'autres termes, outre que le jeu de la volonté est spontané, c'est à dire qu'il échappe à toute contrainte externe, le sujet morale a la privilège *de créer les motifs* qui déterminent sa conduite" (pp. 124, 125).

The moral motive in this sense is made an instance of the *force of an idea* ; and the stress laid by determinists on 'motive' as a psychological fact is appealed to in support of the doctrine of self-determination (pp. 16, 17 ; 132). The suggestion of M. Fouillée is quoted with approval, that the idea of self-determination, acting as a psychical force, constitutes self-determination—is Freedom *simpliciter* ; and also his fresh expression of the Kantian 'Law universal' in the conception that a self as universally determined acts naturally for universal ends (the physical element in Kant's idea of the imperative obligation being transcended in such an inherent necessity of self-realisation) (pp. 132-4).

True liberty, concludes M. Bovon,

"[la liberté vraie] est l'état de celui qui ne veut plus autre chose que la bien" (p. 129). "Au fond le libre arbitre, saisi comme faculté de choix

n'est qu'une phase transitoire, la liberté s'immobilisant toujours par l'habitude et tendant à devenir nécessité" (p. 135).

In entering on his subject proper, M. Bovon shows the same clear insight as has already been remarked into the points requiring treatment, with the same infelicity in the arrangement of them. With perfect propriety he sets down two matters for consideration before beginning the analysis of Christian conduct: namely, first, the state of Sin, and second, the pre-Christian moral consciousness in its two forms as 'without Law' or 'under Law.' Nothing could be better. Nor could a more perfect example be given of the professor's genius for cross-division than the chapters in which he treats these themes. Dividing the whole section devoted to this preliminary matter into two sub-sections—"The natural man without Law" and "The natural man under Law"—he includes the analysis of the state of sin within the former, as if sin had no existence in the life under law. When it is added that "The natural man without Law" consists of three chapters in all, and that the first two chapters are the chapters on the Metaphysic of Ethics already referred to, dealing respectively with Conscience and Freedom, and the third the chapter on Sin, no further illustration will be required of the defect which so mars an excellent and attractive book.

The section on "The natural man under Law" contains an analysis both psychologically and historically true of the felt need of positive precept, and of the working of the Law for better and worse in the religious consciousness and history of Israel. Then follows an attempt at the definition and limitation of the legal or positive element in Christianity. The shortcomings of a legal Christianity are exposed in an account of the Catholic ethical doctrines of a sufficient obedience and works supererogatory, and a criticism of the Catholic rule of perfection. Some just remarks are also made on the use and limits of casuistry.

Thus far, the discussion is preparatory and negative. With "État morale de l'homme régénéré" begins the real *Christian* ethics. But we cannot follow M. Bovon further at present. The general analysis of Christian experience (book i., section 2) is in the manner of its execution open to the same criticisms as have been made upon other parts of the work. The second book, which enters into the details of Christian duty, is unfinished, and will be continued in a forthcoming volume.

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

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**Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alterthums. Kambyes  
und die Ueberlieferung des Alterthums.**

*By J. V. Prášek. Leipzig: Pfeiffer; London and Edinburgh:  
Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 84. Price, 6 marks.*

THIS is a careful and scholarly examination of the history of Cambyes, in the light of recent Assyriological discoveries, and presents us with the results of long study and wide historical knowledge. Professor Prášek is already well known as a historian of the ancient East; his learning is great, and his critical judgment is sound. Though not an Assyriologist himself, he knows how to use and profit by the latest discoveries of cuneiform research, in so far, at all events, as they bear upon the history of the past.

His monograph upon Cambyes, though consisting of not more than 84 well-printed pages, should be read and weighed by every student of oriental history. All that is known about the Persian king is brought together in it and carefully sifted, and the references to him in Herodotus and other classical writers are critically examined. The inscriptions of Nabonidos and Cyrus, and more especially the dated contract tablets which have been found in such numbers in Babylonia, have thrown a flood of light on the chronology and history of his reign, and enabled us to check the accounts given of it by the Greek historians. Even the tombstones of the Apis-bulls, discovered by Mariette in the Serapeum, have contributed to this end.

One of the points clearly brought out by Professor Prášek is that the story of the madness of Cambyes and of his sacrilegious cruelties in Egypt is an invention, partly Egyptian, partly Greek, in origin, which may have had its source in the tyranny of the savage Aryandes after Cambyes' death. Professor Prášek believes that the story was copied by Herodotus from Hecatæus, and reflects the hatred of the Ionians towards their Persian masters. He is thus at one with me in maintaining the unacknowledged indebtedness of Herodotus to his predecessor in Egyptian travel.

At any rate, the whole story of the murder of the Apis-bull by the Persian conqueror is unhistorical. The very bull has been discovered, which, if the story were true, would have been the victim of the king's fury, and we learn from the inscription which accompanied its mummy that it died in the usual way and was buried with the usual ceremonies at the expense of the king. The chronology, moreover, excludes the truth of the story. The bull died and was entombed during the Ethiopian campaign and while Cambyes was absent from Memphis. The campaign itself was not the failure which Greek writers depicted. On the contrary, Cam-

byses is shown by Professor Prášek to have reached Napata, the goal of the expedition, and to have thus added a portion of the Sudan to the Persian empire. As late as the days of the geographer Ptolemy there was still a "Magazine of Cambyses" near the Third Cataract.

Perhaps the most valuable part of Professor Prášek's work is his settlement of the chronology of the reign of Cambyses as well as that of the Pseudo-Smerdis. He makes it clear that the coronation of Cambyses as "king of Babylon" took place immediately after the conquest of that city by Cyrus—thus justifying the statement of Ctesias that he reigned for eighteen years; that his reign lasted from Nisan or March B.C. 529 to Ab or August B.C. 522; and that the conquest of Egypt took place between the 28th of March and the 29th of May B.C. 525. It is further made evident that the Pseudo-Smerdis reigned seventeen months instead of seven, as reported by Herodotus. This is proved by the contract tablets, and it solves all the difficulties hitherto presented by the dates in the great inscription of Darius at Behistun.

A. H. SAYCE.

### **Essai de Sémantique (Science des Significations).**

*By Michael Bréal. Paris: Hachette & Cie.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 349. Price, F.7.50.*

PROFESSOR BRÉAL'S "Essay" is one of the books which, to use a phrase of current journalism, are "worth reading." It should be studied not by the philologist only, but by the literary writer, the rhetorician, and the philosopher as well, while its clear and attractive style will make it interesting to every lover of books. The author is a master of his subject, and in the present volume he breaks new ground. It is the first systematic attempt to form a "science of significations," to deal with language on the psychological side as it has been dealt with on the phonetic side. The attempt, indeed, has been partially made before. Pott enumerated the various headings under which the meanings of words could be classed, and Professor Bréal himself has contributed more than one article to the same subject. But a systematic treatment of the psychology of language has hitherto been wanting; philologists have shrunk from undertaking it, and have contented themselves with indicating the lines along which it should run or with pointing out its desirability.

A study of the psychology of speech, indeed, is at least as important as a study of its physiology. After all, phonology is but the skeleton of language; the life and energy of articulate speech

consist in the sense which we put into our words. Language without meaning is a contradiction in terms ; it is the meaning of words that makes them part of human language, and distinguishes them from the meaningless sounds of the organic or inorganic world. We have succeeded in founding a science of phonetics ; it is time that we should found also a science of " semantics."

Professor Bréal divides his work into three parts. In the first he describes the intellectual laws that govern speech ; in the second, " how the sense of words is fixed " ; and in the third, " how syntax is formed." The first part is perhaps the most important ; it was at all events the most difficult to write, and at the same time the necessary foundation of all that follows. " Law," however, in semantics and " law " in phonetics do not signify the same thing. In semantics there can be no inviolable law, no law that works blindly—always in the same direction and without exceptions. Here a law represents a tendency rather than an invariable rule, a psychological and not a physiological sequence of cause and effect. It is, in short, the category under which we can group a particular set of intellectual facts.

Among the laws formulated by Professor Bréal, what he calls " the law of specialisation " ranks first. It is this which in the analytical languages has replaced the inflections of more synthetic forms of speech by special and independent words. " Of " has taken the place of the suffix *-s* in English, " more " and " most " of *-er* and *-est*. Next comes the " law of repartition." By this is meant what is sometimes known under the barbarous name of desynonymisation. Synonyms become differentiated one from another ; shades of meaning grow up between them, and those which belong to the common language of the people not unfrequently acquire a vulgar or even immoral sense. The level of culture attained by a nation sets a limit to the action of the principle of " repartition." The more highly cultivated are the speakers, the greater is the tendency to discover subtle shades of meaning in the words they use. The number of synonyms in a language is a good test of the civilisation of its speakers.

Another law formulated by Professor Bréal is that of " irradiation." The signification of a word is extended to its suffix or grammatical form, which is then detached from the word to which it properly belongs and employed in lending to other words the new sense it has acquired. Thus in Latin the " inchoative " sense of the termination *-sco* is derived from that of a few verbs like *adolesco* and *floresco*, to which it happened to be attached ; the meaning of the verbs was, as it were, read into the suffix, which thus came to be used in order to form other verbs with an " inchoative " signification.

To enumerate, however, each of the "laws" of semantics which Professor Bréal has described and illustrated would take too long a time, much more to discuss his application of them. Probably the most generally interesting part of his work will be considered the second, in which such matters are treated as the restriction and widening of the sense of terms, the metaphorical use of words, the origin of abstracts, and the causes of the multiplication of meanings. They are all subjects which appeal as much to the philosopher or the logician as to the philologist, and they are all treated with singular lucidity and wealth of illustration. The illustrations, moreover, are drawn from languages with which the educated reader is supposed to be well acquainted, from Latin and Greek, from French, English, and German. We are carried without apparent effort over the abstract reasoning of a new science, and lay down the book with a feeling of regret. Professor Bréal has led us into a new world, but it is a world which, as soon as it is opened to us, seems familiar and comprehensible.

On the side of comparative philology he still remains a faithful disciple of Bopp. He still clings to the theory of the agglutinative origin of flexion, and sees in the termination of the Latin *ama-bam* or *ama-bo* the substantive verb *fuō*. Here I cannot follow him. But the question is one of probable evidence only. The origin of most of the verbal suffixes can never be known with certainty; the materials are wanting, and the balance of probabilities will necessarily strike different minds in a different way.

A. H. SAYCE.

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**Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter  
secundum formam quae videtur Romanam.**

*Edidit Fridericus Blass. Lipsiae: Teubner; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 96. Price, 2 marks.*

DR BLASS's theory that in the "Western Text" we have St Luke's first edition of his work, has been before the world now for more than two years, and it would be an impertinence to set forth at this time the principles which the author has attempted to justify by presenting his *Roman Recension* in concrete form. It may perhaps be doubted whether Dr Blass has been wise in his method of recommending his theory. His restoration in many points recalls the great work of his friend August Fick, to whom he dedicated his N.T. Grammar. Had Fick contented himself with merely propounding and pleading for his brilliant hypothesis that the original nucleus of the Homeric poems

was in a dialect which might be generally described as Aeolic, he would probably have convinced the majority of scholars. But he proceeded to demonstrate by experiment that "Homer" could be re-written in the theoretical dialect of theoretical ancestors of the various Aeolic tribes of centuries later; and he thus diverted criticism on to the hosts of minutiae on which neither he nor anyone else could possibly attain more than a fair degree of plausibility. In this reconstruction of the hypothetical Roman edition of *Acts*, Dr Blass has been making bricks without much straw in a rather similar fashion. Where the Bezan text diverges from the Vatican and Sinaitic, the matter is fairly simple. But where D has been assimilated to the other recension, what sure ground is there to stand on? The coincidence of *two* witnesses from the little group of authorities who more or less favour the "Roman text" may have some weight; but when Cyprian or Augustine, or the "mixed" Codex Laudianus, the palimpsest of Fleury, or the Philoxenian Syriac, presents us with a variant otherwise unknown, the "Roman" reading of the passage in question becomes little more than a conjecture. We may take half a dozen consecutive examples from a part of the book selected at random. In chaps. xii. and xiii. I notice six readings which are accepted as Roman on the single authority of a Latin MS. Three are due to the *Gigas* and three to the *Parisinus* (321), both of them dating from the thirteenth century. To the former belong the addition of καὶ ἀνέστη in xii. 7, the substitution of καὶ for ὥς δὲ before ἐτέλουν in xiii. 29, and the reading τινὰς τῶν σεβομένων τὸν θεὸν γυναῖκας εὐσχήμονας in xiii. 50; to the latter the addition of ἡ πῶς ἐξῆλθεν in xii. 18, the reading Παῦλος in xiii. 1, 2, and the substitution of τοῦτον (added by conjecture) ἀπεδοκίμασαν for κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν in xiii. 27. At first sight, it is hard to resist the impression that this high honouring of thirteenth century MSS. is a habit contracted in classical study, like the *cacoethes conjectandi*, which we cannot help feeling is too little restrained in all Blass's N.T. work. But it is certainly fair to reply that Blass is only using *Gigas* in the same way as Hort would use the cursive 61 of *Acts*, were N and B defective in any passage; while the paucity of witnesses may to some extent justify conjecture. Obviously, however, the resultant text depends too much on the editor's subjectivity to claim acceptance as anything more than a working hypothesis.

Perhaps the fairest way to show what this reconstructed "Roman text" is like will be to present its more important variants in the course of a single chapter. Taking ch. xvi. for the purpose, we may represent the deviations by italicising words which differ from the R.V.



1. And *having gone through these nations* he came to Derbe. . .

4. And *going through the cities* they *proclaimed* to them *with all boldness the Lord Jesus Christ, at the same time delivering also the commandments of the apostles.* . .

10. *Having risen up, therefore, he set forth the vision to us, and we considered* that God had called us for to preach the gospel unto those who were in Macedonia.

11. And on the morrow setting sail. . .

16. . . . soothsaying through it.

19. But as the masters of the maid saw that they had been deprived of their gain, which they had through her. . .

22. And a great multitude rose up together against them, crying out.

29. And the jailor heard and called for lights, and . . . fell down before the feet of Paul and Silas ; (30) and brought them out, and having secured the rest came and said to them. . .

35. But when it was day, the praetors came together into the market-place, and remembering the earthquake which had taken place they feared, and sent the lictors, saying, Let those men go, whom thou receivedst yesterday.

39. And having come with many friends to the prison, they besought them to go out, saying, We knew not the things concerning you, that ye are righteous men. And when they had brought them out, they entreated them, saying, Go out from this city, lest we have them again gathering together and crying out against you.

40. . . . and when they had seen the brethren, they set forth what things the Lord had done unto them, and having exhorted them they departed.

In this chapter it happens that all the variants which can be thus exhibited in English are due to D, except the trifle at the beginning of ver. 29, so that there is nothing here which Dr Blass is urging on our attention for the first time. But as practically the "Roman text" means D, just as the "Antiochian text" means  $\aleph$  B, the chapter is as fair a test as could be found. The most remarkable additions, those in verses 30 and 39 (end), are approved by Ramsay as plausibly Lucan (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 222, 224), a view which requires us to ask why the words were dropped: in the second case, at any rate, this question is hard to answer. Blass would have us suppose that St Luke himself cut them out in his revised edition. It is clear that we have very little to guide us in choosing between these alternatives, and the third view, that these are glosses by some later reader. In the case of the other variants here noted it would be very hard to make out any great plausibility for the view that they came from St Luke's first draft. Making all possible allowance for the pre-



judice against the unfamiliar, we seem instinctively to feel that the bulk of the aberrant matter would never have suggested such a view, and that the small minority of readings which recommend themselves in any way can be more simply and naturally accounted for by other theories. But the examination of these readings in detail, and the not less necessary examination of the mass of readings in which the general sense is not affected, could not be even summarised in a short review, and without such investigations the mere statement of impressions is worthless. It is enough to say that Blass's restoration is in general probably as near the mysterious " $\beta$  text" as available materials permit us to approach, so that those who pursue the fascinating problem further will find this little book an exceedingly useful basis to work on. Besides this, the skill and suggestiveness with which Blass manipulates the text in his Preface to relieve some of the notable difficulties of the book, cannot fail to interest all, and will convince many of those who are bold enough to believe that textual conjecture has a part to play in solving problems of New Testament exegesis. For scholarship, acuteness, and industry, the book is worthy of its predecessor the Commentary, and it would be superfluous to say more.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

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**Die paulinischen Briefe im berichtigten Text mit kurzer Erläuterung zum Handgebrauch bei der Schriftlectüre.**

*Von Bernhard Weiss. Leipzig, 1896; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 682. M.12.50.*

For those who read German this is probably the most compact and useful commentary on the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) that exists. There are less than twenty pages of preface and introduction. The remainder of the volume, which is a not very heavy octavo, is occupied with full Greek text of the fourteen Epistles and brief but pregnant commentary. Each page contains about three or four verses of Greek, with the notes on them below. The print is good, that of the text being larger than that of the notes. In the notes the Greek is very much abbreviated, and has neither accents nor breathings. In other respects, abbreviations are not excessive. One can read without constantly stopping to decipher, or (still worse) to consult a table of abbreviations in order to decipher. There is no index of any kind, and the end of the volume has in consequence an abrupt and unfinished appearance. An index to be of any great use would have had to be rather voluminous, and perhaps there was serious objection to

adding to a volume which was to be a handbook, and which had already reached 682 pages. Moreover, there is no *apparatus criticus*, or explanation of the readings adopted. All this is in another volume, which has preceded this one. There are hundreds of people who are deeply interested in critical exegesis, and who nevertheless care very little about the details of textual criticism. So that there is every practical advantage in separating the two, and allowing those who want interpretation only, and are content to have the text settled for them, to buy ready-made text with the explanation of it which they desire. But it would have done no harm to the readers, and would have been a real advantage to those who do take an interest in textual criticism, if some kind of a mark had been placed in the Greek text to indicate that the reading is discussed in the companion volume.

This companion volume has been published for some months. It is entitled *Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe*, and it forms the third part in the fourteenth volume of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Parts one and two have yet to appear. It naturally appeals to a comparatively small number of readers. It is the result of many years of close study of the Greek text. Dr Weiss puts the eleven uncial MSS. which contain the text in three groups, thus—KLP, DEFG,  $\aleph$ ABC. In the third and most important group, A lacks more than 150 verses of 2 Cor., B all from Heb. ix. 14 onwards, and C about two-fifths of the whole;  $\aleph$  alone is complete. Some of the statistics at which Weiss has arrived with regard to these MSS. are of special interest. The great superiority of B as a witness of the true text comes out in a very marked way. In his judgment there are eighty-five cases in which B alone gives the right reading, and seventy in which B with A and C does so. But with A alone B gives the true text ten times, and with C alone only thrice. Combined with  $\aleph$  alone B preserves the right reading thirty times; combined with D or DE alone more than twenty-five times. And these figures are immensely increased when other witnesses are added. But the errors which are common to B and D show how related the two texts are. In considering these figures it must be remembered that B contains only about four-fifths of the whole which is under consideration. If we had it as a witness for the whole of Hebrews and for the Pastoral Epistles, the figures would no doubt be still more strongly in its favour.

In the Preface to the volume before us, Dr Weiss protests against the tendency to resort to hypotheses of corruption of the text, whether intentional or accidental, wherever the text seems to present difficulty. In most cases he believes that the apparent difficulty can be explained without any such assumptions. The

fact that St Paul commonly dictated his letters, and that they were often written under the influence of strong emotion, will account for a great deal of irregularity of expression.

In the tantalisingly short introduction,—barely nineteen pages for the whole of the fourteen Epistles—we have a good deal of material put into a small compass. From the earliest times, most of the Apostolic Epistles were known and much read. As having the same authority which was assigned to the Gospels, they have been recognised since the last quarter of the second century, and thirteen were definitely ascribed to St Paul. With the exception of that to Philemon (an exception thoroughly intelligible) all thirteen were quoted as his : and Philemon is mentioned by Tertullian. That the Apostle of the Gentiles never wrote any other letters is improbable in itself, and we know from 1 Cor. v. 9 and Col. iv. 16 that at least two have been lost. There is nothing surprising in the fact that we know of no collection of the Apostle's letters earlier than that of Marcion, and that his collection did not contain the Pastoral Epistles. The necessity for marking off such a group as the Pauline Epistles would hardly arise before Marcion's time ; and, seeing that from the first the Pastoral Epistles were regarded as containing a prediction of the Gnostic heresy, Marcion's exclusion of them is very intelligible. We know from his treatment of the Gospels how arbitrary his method of selection was. In addition to the four great Epistles, which even Baur allowed to be unquestionably genuine, modern criticism places at least 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon among the indisputably Pauline Epistles, while Colossians and 2 Thessalonians are supposed to contain, at any rate, a substratum that is genuine ; and here and there doubts are expressed as to whether the doubts respecting Ephesians are really well grounded. As to 2 Thessalonians, Weiss holds that the apocalyptic ideas which it exhibits are inconceivable, if placed later than the early part of the Pauline period ; and as to Colossians, that the companion letter to Philemon is a strong guarantee for the authenticity of the longer letter. Baur's rejection of this innocent private letter is now generally recognised as one of the most glaring errors of his criticism. Nor is the Pauline authorship of Ephesians really doubtful. Its relationship to Colossians is at once so close and so original, so true and so free, as to be beyond the reach of an imitator. But textual criticism renders the conclusion certain that in the first instance it was not addressed to the Church of Ephesus.

Weiss is confident that the common view respecting these three letters, viz., that they and the one to the Philippians were written during the first Roman imprisonment, is wrong. Philippians alone belongs to that crisis. The other three were written during the two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea. When the Apostle wrote to

the Philippians, he intended in case of release to go from Rome to Macedonia (Phil. i. 26, ii. 24). But when he wrote to Philemon, feeling confident of release (comp. Acts xxiv. 26), he tells him to prepare him a lodging at Colossae (Philem. 22). Yet there are essential points in which Philippians exhibits the same characteristics as the other three letters; and those who allow the genuineness of Philippians as beyond doubt must reconsider their objections to Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon.

The genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles also may be confidently maintained. No doubt they exhibit a condition of things about which there is no trace in the life of S. Paul as known to us from other sources. But there is no difficulty in believing that his life included situations such as we find in these three letters. It is quite true that apart from their contents there is no sure evidence that the Apostle was ever released from the Roman imprisonment, during which he wrote to the Philippians. But it is equally true that there is no sure evidence that he was not released. Whichever view we take we are in the region of hypothesis; and, of the two, that hypothesis is the better which is supported by the Pastoral Epistles, viz., that he was released then, but imprisoned again some years later. The other difficulties respecting these letters are in like manner balanced by still weightier objections on the other side. It is very difficult to believe that the purely personal touches, especially in Titus and 2 Timothy, are not authentic. If this is conceded, then the whole is conceded. Each of these two letters is such a connected whole in itself, and both of them are so closely connected with 1 Timothy, that if parts of either are allowed to be Pauline, then the whole group must be his. Neither view is free from difficulty; but the heavier amount of difficulty falls to those who reject the group as spurious.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is included in this commentary on the Pauline Epistles, not because Weiss believes for a moment that it was written by S. Paul, but because in the oldest MSS., which he takes as his chief guide in forming his text, the Epistle is placed among those of S. Paul, viz., after those letters which are addressed to Churches and before those which are addressed to individuals. This arrangement has stereotyped the erroneous belief, which had its origin mainly in Alexandria, and which has been a serious impediment to a right understanding of the Epistle, that it is Pauline, and is to be interpreted from the Pauline point of view. And this uncertainty about the authorship has produced or aggravated an uncertainty as to the class of persons addressed. Where within the sphere of S. Paul's activity could a community such as is addressed in this treatise be found? This question has

at last led to the irrational suggestion that the persons addressed are Gentile Christians,—a suggestion which renders all historical explanation of the writing impossible. The arguments of the writer to prove that, by the coming of Jesus as the Messianic Highpriest, and by His sacrifice for sin, the highpriesthood and sacrifices of the old covenant are done away, are of importance to those only who are still attached to this covenant and disposed to rest in it. And the terrible warnings against apostasy receive their right explanation only when they are regarded as addressed to Jewish Christians, who, for the sake of reconciliation with their unbelieving countrymen, were thinking of returning to their original creed and worship. It is this crisis which has inspired some man of prophetic insight to point out, with earnest and elaborate argument, the reasons which allow, and indeed require, the Jew to make a complete break with an obsolete past.

These are the main conclusions which are pointed out in the Introduction. It remains to give the reader some idea of what is to be found in the text and commentary. In the new and revised edition of Meyer's invaluable Commentary, the volumes on Romans, Hebrews, and the Pastoral Epistles are among those which have been in the hands of the public for some time as re-edited by Dr Weiss. His views, therefore, with regard to the exegesis of these Epistles are already well-known, and the symbol "Mey-Weiss" is becoming familiar to students. It will therefore be more interesting to take samples out of some of the other Epistles.

In *Galatians*, which he holds to be the earliest of the four great Epistles, he interprets i. 19 to mean that, excepting Cephas, all the Twelve were absent from Jerusalem at the time, and that yet James the Lord's brother, who was not one of the Twelve, must be mentioned as being along with them one of the leaders of the first body of Christians. In iii. 1 he of course omits both τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι and ἐν ὑμῖν, and in v. 17, εἰς Χριστόν: and in iv. 25 he adopts τὸ γὰρ Ἀγαρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστίν. In v. 21, against  $\aleph$ B and some other authorities, he admits φόνοι to the list of "the works of the flesh," and believes that φθόνοι and φόνοι have been purposely put side by side because of the similarity of sound; but in the same verse he omits the καί (interpolated probably for emphasis) before προεῖπον. Comp. the καί before αὐτοῖς, Rom. iv. 11, and before ἐλογίσθη, Rom. iv. 22, which in each case is probably an insertion. Although Weiss admits that the correction of the present or aorist participle into the perfect participle, in order to suit the context, is a very common form of corruption (e.g., Gal. iii. 23; Eph. vi. 14; 1 Thes. iv. 13; &c., in certain texts), yet he prefers οἱ περιτετμνημένοι to οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι in

Gal. vi. 13, because it fits the context so much better; which is the obvious explanation of the change. The *στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* in vi. 17 he regards as actual scars of wounds received in the persecution which Paul encountered for the sake of Jesus Christ, and by which Jesus has branded him as His slave. They may well convince the Galatians that he is better worth listening to than the Judaizers, who have led them astray without any such proof of earnestness or of a high mission. This letter ought to suffice without his having to take further trouble. The emphatic *ἐγώ* marks the contrast between him and the Judaizing teachers; *ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα κ.τ.λ.*

In 1 *Corinthians* there is plenty that is of great interest. In ii. 1, *τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Θεοῦ* is preferred to *τὸ μυστήριον τ. Θε.*, and is explained the witness of God's acts for the salvation of man in Christ. In ii. 9 the *καθὼς γέγραπται* is explained as a slip of memory. What follows is a quotation from something; but whether an exact quotation or not we cannot tell. The Apostle erroneously fancies that he is quoting Scripture.<sup>1</sup> We have no right to assume that an Apostle could not make such a mistake. The difficult passage, iii. 12-15, is explained almost exactly as in Ellicott. On Jesus Christ as a foundation men build some things that will endure, and others which will not. At the Day of Judgment the fire of God's wrath will show which is which. Those who have built what is of value will receive a reward. Those who have built what is worthless will lose this reward. Yet they themselves will be saved from destruction, for they have built on the right foundation. But, seeing that the Day comes upon them while they are in the act of building, it is through the conflagration (*ὡς διὰ πυρός*) of their own worthless materials that they will have to rush for safety. The words *τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ* in vii. 5 are, of course, treated as an interpolation. The evidence against them is decisive (NABCDEF, &c.). Although *ἐβαπτίσθησαν* is the prevalent form in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. vi. 3; 1 Cor. i. 13, 15; xii. 13; Gal. iii. 27), yet in 1 Cor. x. 2 *ἑβαπτίσαντο* (BKLP, &c.) is to be preferred. The Apostle seems to have deliberately written the middle rather than the passive form, in order to bring out the point that through trust in Moses the Israelites of themselves ventured to take the plunge into the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 21, 31). In v. 3 the manna is called "spiritual meat," because, while it nourished their bodies it also strengthened their faith. The water from the

<sup>1</sup> Such mistakes might occur among ourselves. Even educated people might be found who think that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or "Cleanliness is next to godliness," is to be found in the Bible (probably in Proverbs), or in the Apocrypha.



rock is called "spiritual drink," for the same reason. The mention of it reminds St Paul of the rabbinical tradition of the rock following the Israelites. But he at once excludes the idea of a material rock, by calling it "spiritual," and taking it as representing the pre-existing Christ. Thus the grace, which the Israelites received through the strengthening of their faith by this supernatural drink, is attributed to the Redeemer of the New Covenant, and the analogy with the eucharist is made all the more striking. In xi. 10 διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους is explained of the angels present at the public services of the Church. The desire of a wife for emancipation from authority is in the Apostle's view identical with shamelessness. If she is not ashamed to deny before men her subordination to her husband, at least the thought that angels are present ought to restrain her from publicly discarding the sign of his authority. In xi. 24 Λάβετε, φάγετε and κλώμενον are rightly omitted, and in xi. 29 ἀναξίως after πίνων and τοῦ κυρίου after τὸ σῶμα, in all cases on the decisive authority of  $\aleph$ ABC and other witnesses. And v. 30 receives the reasonable interpretation that in consequence of unworthy reception of the eucharist many in the Church of Corinth had been visited with sickness and death (κοιμῶνται like κοιμηθῆ in vii. 39). In v. 24 τοῦτο ποιεῖτε is rightly explained as "Do what I have done," i.e. break bread with thanksgiving and a declaration of its meaning. The supposed sacrificial meaning of ποιεῖτε is not thought worthy of mention. In xv. 51 the reading adopted is πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, where many important witnesses transpose the οὐ: but the balance is the other way. The verse is regarded as presupposing that the large majority of the generation then living will live to see the Second Advent. Comp. 1 Thessalonians iv. 15, 17. The repetition of the πάντες emphasises the fact that there is no exception to the law that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" (v. 50).

One or two specimens may be given from 2 *Corinthians*. A not uncommon feature in corruptions of the text is transposition or confusion of pronouns, especially of ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς. In 2 Cor. v. 12 B has διδόντες ἡμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν instead of διδόντες ἡμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. But in viii. 7 it is B with a few cursives which preserves what seems to be the true reading, τῇ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγάπῃ: where all other uncials have τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ, which the Revisers adopt and translate, "in your love to us"; placing the other reading in the margin, with the translation, "in our love to you." But it is very difficult to explain either the ἐξ or the ἐν, if this translation be accepted. With the reading of B we understand "the love which

flows from us and rests in you"; i.e. the love for the poor saints at Jerusalem, with which the Apostle and his associates have inspired the Corinthians. For cases of mere substitution of *ἡμεῖς* for *ὕμεῖς* or *vice versa* (in some cases quite spoiling the sense) see vi. 11, ix. 14, x. 15; 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23; in all which passages B seems to be in error. In 2 Cor. xi. 3, Weiss regards *καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος* after *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος* as certainly genuine and as looking back to *παρθένον ἀγνήν* in the preceding verse. They are not to be seduced from the loyalty which they owe towards Christ, to whom they are espoused. With regard to the *σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατανᾶ* (xii. 7), we are not to think of some grievous temptation; but rather of some chronic malady, which at times manifested itself in violent pains or distressing sickness. With this the evil one was allowed to afflict him; but solely for his good, as the double *ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι* shows. And although many authorities omit the second *ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι*, there is no doubt as to its genuineness, the motive for the omission being so clear. It is much less easy to follow Weiss, when, against all the best MSS., which are here supported by important Versions and Fathers, he retains *καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας* after *εἰς πάντας* in Rom. iii. 22. No doubt it might have been omitted by design as redundant, or by accident through homœoteleuton, but the wide diffusion of the omission cannot easily be accounted for on either hypothesis. He may easily be right, however, in declining to follow WH., when, on the authority of *NCJM*, they banish to the margin *τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ* in 1 Cor. xv. 54.

These instances will perhaps suffice as specimens of the results to be found in this admirably compressed, critical, and practical commentary. The writer of it may readily be believed when he tells us that we have here the results of decades of study. And although here and there one may be disposed to hesitate as to the correctness of some of the conclusions reached, yet everywhere one feels that one is in the hands of a strong and competent guide.

A. PLUMMER.

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**Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie d'après les MSS. Hébreux  
de la Bibliothèque Nationale.**

*Par M. Moïse Schwab. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897.  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp.  
318. Price, F.12.*

THE absolute monotheism of the Pentateuch left heaven and earth empty of all save one spiritual presence, a Presence which Itself



filled all heaven and earth. God is One, and the Universe with all that it contains is the expression of a single will.

But this spiritual atmosphere was too fine for the natural man to breathe. His eye dwelt on the external variety of Nature, instead of penetrating to its inner unity ; so he became in earlier days a polytheist, in later an angelologist.

The first step by which the monotheist expressed his sense of the variety of Nature was by dwelling on the number and varied significance of the names and epithets of God. Seventy names are reckoned in the *Othiyoth d' Rabbi Akiva*, a work perhaps of the tenth century, while Mohammed is traditionally said to have ascribed ninety-nine names or epithets to the Almighty. To personify these as good angels is an easy development, and to invent evil angels to confront the good is the natural complement of this personification.

Fancy next ran riot with the numbers of the angels. The book of Enoch says that there are tens of thousands ; the *Pirke R. Eliezer* reckons that 600,000 accompanied the Almighty at the giving of the Law ; tradition asserts that 90,000 demons were present at the Exodus. To match this vast number both of angels and demons, vast numbers of names of both were found or invented. Much depended on the name. The good angel was invoked by name, the bad was unmasked and confounded by being confronted with his own name written or pronounced.

But a difficulty arose with regard to many of the names. Some of them are compounded with the Ineffable name, and these compounds, and even other words which in some way recalled The Name, became themselves ineffable. In order to get over the difficulty ("prononcer et ne pas prononcer"), various subterfuges were employed. The letters of the true spelling were replaced by others, according to *atbash*, *albam*, or other systems. Or again the original letters were merely transposed, or again Greek or Latin names were substituted for Hebrew.

From all this it appears that the number of angel-names in Hebrew is considerable, and that a large proportion of them are difficult to read and to explain. M. Schwab, therefore, has earned the thanks of students of Hebrew and of theology by his full and well-furnished vocabulary of angel names. The vocabulary is divided between two lists ; the first fills 235 pages, and consists of Hebrew and Aramaic words ; the second, of Greek and Latin words, fills 45 pages. References are given under each word to the printed editions, or MSS., or terra-cotta vases, or all three in which the word is found ; and in the case of Hebrew and Aramaic the probable pronunciation is given in Roman letters. The probable meaning of each name is also given.

The amount of work represented by the book is very great ; a hundred and thirteen MSS. have been examined. The separate articles contain much that is interesting, *e.g.*, p. 91 (Gabriel), p. 105 (Daniel), p. 170 (Metatron). The book should prove a very valuable work of reference to all who go a little outside the beaten track of theological study.

W. E. BARNES.

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**Notice du MS. Bibl. Nat. Fr. 6447.**

*Par M. Paul Meyer. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp. 78. Price, F.3.50.*

M. MEYER's work does not concern Theology so much as it concerns the history of French literature, yet the contents of his MS. justify a short notice of his book in this Review. MS. Fr. 6447 (written about 1275 A.D.), contains, amongst other pieces, a curious prose paraphrase of the book of Genesis, which M. Meyer shows is based upon an earlier poetic version. Here is a restoration of a few lines :—

Li quars flums est diz Eufratès.  
Ensi l' apela Moysès,  
Mais l'Escripture ne dist pas  
Ne son aler ne son trespas.

Bel me seroit se je savoie  
Quel part li flueves fait sa voie.  
Tant vous en di com j'ai appris  
Et com tesmoigne li escriis.

(Happy should I be to know  
Which way the river turns to flow ;  
But I have told you all I learned,  
And write the thing I have discerned.)

The two books of Maccabees are similarly paraphrased (Gorgias goes to surprise Judas, and finds him flown, 1 Macc. iv.) :—

Quant nul n'en trueve aval les plaines,  
Ses vait querant par les montaignes ;  
Si dist a cels kil vont sivant :  
" Icist caitif s'en vont fuiant."

M. Meyer's book is a model of careful and thorough bibliographical work.

W. E. BARNES.

**Massilia-Carthago Sacrifice Tablets.***Edited by Rev. J. M. Macdonald, M.A. London, 1897.**8vo, pp. 45. Price, 3s. 6d. net.*

PERHAPS the most important document in the Phœnician language at present known is the monument found at Marseilles in 1844, of which Mr Macdonald has published an edition. The inscription deals with the division of things sacrificed between the priest and the worshipper, defining the shares of each. Thus in the case of the sacrifice of an animal, the skin with some other parts always went to the worshipper, while the priest received a larger or smaller weight of flesh, together with a larger or smaller sum of money, as the animal sacrificed was larger or smaller.

This practice varies somewhat from that of the Hebrews. Among these the priest received the "skin of the burnt offering" (Lev. vii. 8) and (in the case of the "peace-offering") the breast and right shoulder ("thigh" R.V., Lev. vii. 32-33). Moreover no payment of money was enjoined.

The chief value of the inscription, however, is linguistic. It is long enough and varied enough to illustrate many points of Phœnician orthography and grammar, and to show how many words are common to Phœnician and Hebrew. It might fitly supply material for a dissertation on the inter-relations between the two Semitic dialects.

Unfortunately Mr Macdonald does not give us such a dissertation, though he frequently in his notes compares Phœnician forms with those of Hebrew and Syriac. The contents of his book are—(1) the original text in photographic reproduction, and also in print with gaps conjecturally restored; (2) an English translation; (3) notes chiefly linguistic, but rather unscholarly.

W. E. BARNES.

**Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien  
nicht überliefert sind.**

*Eine kritische Bearbeitung des von D. Alfred Resch gesammelten  
materials, von James Hardy Ropes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs;  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo,  
pp. vi. 176. Price, M.5.50.*

WHEN, some few months ago, this book was entrusted to me for review, no one could have presaged that the discovery of a solitary leaf of papyrus in an Egyptian tomb would have invested the subject of the volume with such profound and universal interest.

That there were sentences, like Acts xx. 35, ascribed to our Lord, in early Christian literature, but which are not contained in the canonical gospels, has long been recognised, and not a few collections of them have been made during the last half century by New Testament scholars. R. Hoffmann collected 30 ; Westcott about the same number ; Schaff, Plumptre, and others have given attention to the matter. But the first to treat the subject exhaustively was Dr Resch in his "*Agrapha*," published in 1889, in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*. With his perhaps unrivalled acquaintance with early church literature, he collected 74 passages which he considered to be genuine sayings of Jesus, outside the Gospels ; and 103 which he designated "*Apokrypha*," or "*Doubtful and Spurious Agrapha*," quoting the passages where each one occurs, and making very valuable comments.<sup>1</sup> The leap from 30 to 177 was certainly startling, and suggested criticism. It lay on the surface that very many of what Resch considers genuine Logia, *do not claim* to be sayings of Jesus, but are, for various reasons, *inferred* to be so. For instance, the author's favourite argument from synonyms comes into play ; as in Eph. v. 14, "Awake, thou that sleepest," &c. Here, because in different authors who quote the passage, we have the variants ἐξεγέρθητι, ἐγείραι and ἀνάστα, this is deemed to prove the existence of a Hebrew original, and the words διὸ λέγει point to the Matthæan Hebrew gospel. And again, because both Peter and Paul advise women to "be submissive to their husbands," and Peter, James, and Paul advise men to "resist the devil," Resch infers that a saying of Jesus must lie behind. Many non-biblical passages also are for similar reasons assigned to our Lord. Then among the "*spurious Agrapha*" there are at least a dozen which are not "*sayings*" at all, but are narratives ; and 36 are not sayings of *Jesus* but of the Apostles. It was, therefore, fitting that the vast accumulation which Dr Resch has compiled should be submitted to searching examination ; and such it has undoubtedly received in the work specially before us, at the hands of Mr J. H. Ropes, now "*Instructor*" in Harvard University, but formerly a pupil of Harnack's—indeed, the work was undertaken at the instigation of his former professor. Mr Ropes pays a very fitting tribute to Dr Resch's erudition, and rightly states that the *Agrapha* is beyond all doubt a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί, and will long be a veritable Thesaurus for *Agrapha-material*.

His criticisms of Resch's materials fall into three categories :—

I. Passages which were never intended to be a citation of the words of Jesus, but were (1) conscious paraphrases or modifications of Christ's words, (2) quotations from a divergent text, or (3)

<sup>1</sup> Many references to Resch's *Agrapha* were made by Dr Sanday and myself in the *Expositor* for 1891.

quotations from some authoritative source, but without any claim to be sayings of Jesus. Illogically, as I venture to think, Ropes treats these three in one group, on the ground that they cannot easily be kept aloof. But it would have conduced much to clearness if (3) had been treated separately; and surely those passages which are merely introduced by *φησί* or *λέγει*, "it says," or by *γέγραπται*, "it is written," with nothing but inference to connect the "saying" with Christ, may be considered distinct from those which are professedly utterances of our Lord, though deviating more or less from our canonical text. For purposes of critical investigation Ropes does not distinguish between Resch's Logia and Apokrypha—indeed, some of the latter are preferred to the former—and of Resch's 177, or, with the deductions alluded to above, 130, apparent Agrapha, there are 67 which our author, in this his first category, rejects *in toto*. In the great majority of these instances we thoroughly agree with the criticism, yet there are some few which we are reluctant to "cut down," but would like to "spare" for further investigation; such, *e.g.*, as 2 Clem. viii. 5, "The Lord says in the Gospel, If ye have not kept the little, who will give you the great?" and Barnabas vii. 2, "They that wish to see Me, and to enjoy My kingdom, must receive Me through tribulation and suffering." This may be a recast of John xvi. 33, but it *may* be the source of Acts xiv. 22. Then we are drawn to Origen's words in his *Com. on Matt.*, "Jesus said: For the weak I became weak; for the hungry I hungered; for the thirsty I thirsted"; and to the passage, quoted by both Hermas and the *Διδαχή*, "Give to all, for God gives to all from His own gifts"; and there is, at any rate, something truly Christ-like in the words of the *Didascalia*, which are said to be *ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*: "Blessed are they that mourn for the perdition of unbelievers. Fast and pray for the perishing," though both Resch and Ropes consider this one to be ungenune.

II. The second list consists of those sentences which through defective memory are alleged to be sayings of Jesus, though in reality they belong to some other part of Scripture. Ropes finds eleven of these, 74 to 84, and it is remarkable there are not more. Jerome, *e.g.*, cites Ecclus. iv. 21 as from the Gospel; Origen affirms that "the good Lord" says: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath," and *Didascalia* gives as sayings of "our Lord," "Love covers a multitude of sins," and "Wrath destroys the wise." There was certainly no justifiable reason why Resch should regard these as genuine sayings of Christ; but the case of Aphraates (83), "Pray and be not weary," ought to have been placed by Ropes in his first class as a modification of Luke xviii. 1.

III. The third list consists of those which *claim* to be utterances of Christ, but their historic value has to be decided on by their

intrinsic quality, or by the source which furnishes them to us. Thus judged, Ropes decides that of Resch's apparent Agrapha 28 are worthless, 7 are probable and 11 are genuine. Of the 28 worthless ones, we must say, in justice to Resch, that there are only *seven* which he deemed genuine. As to these seven, our verdict is in most cases the same as Ropes'. We cannot on the authority of Epiphanius regard No. 85 as a genuine Logion, "*Sufficient* for the labourer is his hire"; nor on the supposed authority of Justin, *Apol.* i. 15, "The heavenly Father desires the repentance of the sinner rather than his punishment," since the context shows that this is rather Justin's comment on Matt. ix. 13 which immediately precedes. On the other hand, we are not so certain as Ropes as to the worthlessness of No. 88, when we find that Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, ch. 35, and *Didascalia* vi. 5, both give as the words of Jesus, *ἔσονται αἰρέσεις καὶ σχίσματα*. Is not this the basis of Paul's certainty when he says, "It is necessary that there should be *αἰρέσεις* among you?" (1 Cor. xi. 19). Nor can it be lightly decided whether 1 Cor. xi. 26, "As oft as ye eat this bread, &c.," is an addition made by Paul, or goes back, as is attested twice in the Apostolic constitutions, and also in several ancient liturgies, to a saying of Christ Himself, ". . . ye do show *My* death till *I* come."

Among the *probable* fragments, Ropes includes "He that is near Me is near the fire," attested by Origen; "The weak shall be saved by the strong," *Judicium Petri*; and the interpolation of Codex Bezae, after Luke vi. 4, as to the man working on the Sabbath. He also considers as probable three sayings which Resch classes among the Apokrypha. Two of these are from the Gospel of the Hebrews: "Wherein have I sinned, that I should go to be baptized?" and "He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest"; while Ropes places more credence than Resch in the testimony of Clemens Alex. that our Lord told Salome that the kingdom should come, "when the two shall become one, and the male with the female be neither male nor female."

Of the 74 passages which Resch deems genuine there are only six which fully satisfy Ropes, No. 141-6. These are: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "Among whom I find you, among them will I judge you" (Justin and Clem. Al.). "Ask great things and little things shall be added to you" (Clem. Al. and Orig.). "Be ye approved money-changers" (for which Logion Resch gives 69 quotations in early literature). "I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth," &c. (found parenthetically in Rev. xvi. 15); and the account of the woman taken in adultery. On the other hand, he considers as genuine FIVE sayings which Resch is doubtful about. These are: (1) The passage in the Gospel of the Hebrews which

says, according to the testimony of Jerome, that Christ reckoned as a very grave offender "him that made sad his brother's spirit." (2) "Never be joyful except when you see your brother in love," which is also in the Hebrew Gospel. (3) "Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they (the lambs) are dead" (2 Clem. v. 4). (4) "Many of thy brothers, sons of Abraham, are clad with dung, dying for hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing at all goes forth for them." So Origen: but surely this is a sermonic paraphrase of Luke xvi. 25, though alleged to have been said by Christ to the young Ruler. (5) "I will choose to myself the excellent. Excellent are those which my Father in Heaven has given me" (Eusebius.)

Mr Ropes is himself a diligent student of early Christian literature, and has added 30 apparent Logia to the list of Resch, in conjunction with Professor Harnack, who is credited with six. Eleven of these are from the New Testament, or rather from N.T. MSS.; twelve from various extra-canonical sources, and seven from the Gnostic Book *Pistis Sophia*, which, by the way, has recently been translated into English by the Theosophical Publishing Society. Of his own citations from the N.T., Ropes rejects "There is need of few things or of one" as an arbitrary alteration of Luke x. 41. He also rejects the doxology in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13) as appropriated from the Jewish liturgy; and the words "Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt," in Text. Rec. of Mk. ix. 49, as derived from Lev. ii. 13. These we concede; but when Mr Ropes maintains that Mark xvi. 15-18 is not a genuine Logion, we demur. Though it may not have formed part of the original Gospel of Mark, we are reluctant to believe that these are not the words of Jesus, especially verses 15, 16. Our author is more kindly disposed to Luke ix. 55, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of"; and Luke xxiii. 34, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." These he considers as probably valid Logia, though he would exclude them from the Greek Text. Of the alleged sayings of Jesus in the *Pistis Sophia*, there is only one which Ropes deems even probable, viz., "He who shall impart life to one soul, and save it, shall, apart from his own light in the kingdom of light, receive another glory."

Three Logia contributed by himself, Ropes considers genuine. One is Codex D's addition to Matt. xx. 28, "Ye seek from little to grow and from the greater to be less." The second is 1 Thess. iv. 15-17, where he interprets Paul's phrase, λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, to mean that we have here Christ's own words. The third we view with grave misgiving. It is a passage from the Talmud, *Aboda Zara*, 16b, 17a, where the question is raised whether one might build a privy for the High Priest from the offering of a whore, and Jesus of Nazareth is said to have decided thus: "She gathered it



from the hire of a harlot and unto the hire of a harlot shall it return (Micah i. 7): from refuse is it come, to the place of refuse shall it go." One can but wonder why Mr Ropes, who is so stringent in his criticisms, should affix his seal to an unsavoury morsel like this.

And now we may be expected to say one word as to the light which the study of these Agrapha sheds upon the papyrus page recently discovered; and there are one or two remarks we would like to offer. First, as to the introductory formula, which is regularly λέγει Ἰησοῦς. It is certainly noteworthy that this phrase is never once used to introduce any one of the Logia which have come before our notice, genuine or spurious. We have λέγει, λέγει ὁ κύριος, λέγει ὁ σωτήρ and ὁ Ἰησοῦς φησί, etc., but never λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Even in the New Testament this phrase occurs only in the Fourth Gospel. As the introduction to an agraphon, the name "Jesus," *standing alone*, only occurs three times, and they are all in Origen. In Clem. Rom., the *Didascalia* and the Constitutions, it is found *once* each, but in conjunction with some other name. This is slender evidence, perhaps, on which to connect the fragment with Origen; but it may, possibly, be a straw in the stream. The fragment was found in Egypt; Origen was an Egyptian. Origen lived A.D. 186-254; the extreme dates for the papyrus are A.D. 140-240. Origen was the first great student of written texts of Scripture. He was very familiar with extra-canonical New Testament literature. He cites the Gospel according to the Hebrews. He contributes to no less than 8 of the sayings of Jesus which Resch deems genuine, and to 10 which he deems doubtful. The name "Jesus" points to an early date. The present λέγει, instead of εἶπε, indicates citation from a *written* document. Is it not possible then that we have here part of a collection made by Origen from early sources?

As to fasting, the only two sayings I find are: "Fast and pray for the perishing," which *Didascalia* quotes from "the gospel"; and an apostolic dictum given by Origen: "Blessed is he that fasts, that thereby he may feed the poor." As to Logion 3, there is quite a string of quotations given by Resch (p. 458), all of late date though, in which Jesus is said to have pointed with his finger, and said: "This is the middle of the world." The early part of Logion 5 closely resembles a passage in Ephraem Syrus: "Christ comforted those who live a solitary life, saying: 'Where there is one there am I,' lest any of the lonely ones should be sad, because He Himself is our joy, and he is with us: 'and where there two, there will I be,' because His mercy and grace overshadow us: 'and where there are three,' as we gather in the church, which is the perfect body of Christ, and His express image."

In conclusion, I wish to offer some indications that the Greek of



the new Logia is a translation from the Syriac. (1) εἰ μὴ νηστεύητε τὸν κόσμον would be in Syriac (using Hebrew characters) אֵן לֹא חַצְמוֹן לְעִלְמָא. The word אֵלְמָא ought to be rendered τῷ κόσμῳ: but since ל is so often the sign of the Accus. it might easily be rendered τὸν κόσμον. (2) "Sons of men" is essentially an Aramaic phrase not found in Greek New Testament. "Men" is always in Syriac "Sons of men." (3) In Luke xiii. 32, ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ, "I work cures," is in Syriac Pesh. אֲשַׁמְרָא עֲבַד: עֲבַד is the precise equivalent of ποιεῖν: and the Logion reads ποιεῖ θεραπείας. (4) οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτός is not found in any of the parallel passages in the Greek text, but Pesh. of Luke iv. 24 is לֹא נִבִּיא and לֹא = οὐκ ἔστιν. (5) All the Syriac versions, except the Palestinian, read "Built on a hill," in Matt. v. 14, instead of "set on a hill." (6) The agreement of Logion 5 with Ephraem.

As to whether these passages are the veritable words of Christ it will be wisest for the present to suspend judgment. They are all intrinsically valuable.

J. T. MARSHALL.

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### **Das Kindheitsevangelium nach Lucas und Matthaeus unter Herbeiziehung der aussercanonischen Paralleltex-te.**

*Quellenkritisch untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 336. Price, M.6.50.*

THIS section completes Dr Resch's great work. Its purpose is thoroughly well known to readers of this *Review*, and the citations now given from early apocryphal and patristic literature, parallel to Matt. i., ii., Luke i., ii., are, as in previous volumes, simply invaluable to one who studies the beginnings of our holy faith. Here again also we find that Dr Resch has theories as a "higher critic," which claim thoughtful attention, and which we will now briefly set forth. The main thesis is that there once existed, as a separate work, a primitive Hebrew *Gospel of the Infancy*, to which both Matthew and Luke were indebted, and which was also known to Paul, Justin Martyr, and the writers of the Apocalypse and the Apocryphal Gospels. Resch is quite aware that he is almost the first to maintain that the two evangelists drew from the one "source," and has his replies ready for probable objections. He accounts for the linguistic differences between Matt. i., ii. and Luke i., ii. by assuming that the evangelists both translated from the one Hebrew book. As to the utter diversity of contents, he explains this by the purpose or plan of the two men. Matthew selected from the source those incidents only which seemed to him

to be a fulfilment of Prophecy ; and attached in each case the O.T. passage. Luke had Matthew before him, and in accordance with his law of Parcimony, said nothing which had previously been said by Matthew ; while as regards the genealogy, Luke used a secondary source as he did in Luke v. 1-11. As for positive arguments, (1) Resch considers that the title in Matt. βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ was borrowed by him from מִשְׁכַּבְּ הַיְּלִידִים in the Hebrew Gospel ; (2) The Gospel as first preached and first written was silent as to the Infancy. The Matthæan Logia began as does Mark i. This rendered necessary an authoritative separate book on the Infancy. (3) There are many apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy, therefore there was probably a genuine one which served as model. (4) Many quotations in Justin are divergent from the canonical text ; so much so as to imply that he often used an extra canonical source—a Greek recension of the Hebrew Gospel—and these divergent quotations cover the ground of both our Gospels. (5) Matthew and Luke presuppose one another. The journey to Bethlehem, in Luke, presupposes the betrothal in Matt. i., as the naming in Matthew does the circumcision in Luke ; and the silence as to the visit to Egypt in Luke ii. 23 is not more remarkable than the gap between Luke ix. 17, 18. (6) The Johannean prologue is held by our author to be “a theological meditation on the Gospel of the Infancy.” He very ingeniously tries to show that its truths and its words imply a study of the Gospel in its original form. (6) Resch employs his test of synonymous variants to show that there was a Hebrew original for the whole.

There is a wide diversity as to the cogency of these arguments, but on the whole I think that Resch makes out a strong case for unity of source. That source was Semitic. It *may* have been Hebrew ; in fact there is an *à priori* probability that its “songs” were Hebrew ; but the kind of evidence furnished by Resch is, as we have often said, quite inconclusive. The method I have employed for determining that the *Logia* was Aramaic, needs for its application two parallel translations from the same source. The materials are, in the present case, not forthcoming.

We will now collect some readings from extra-canonical sources which Resch considers more true to the original Hebrew Gospel, than those found in Matthew and Luke. He considers as genuine the reading of Justin, that the “angel said *to the virgin*, thou shalt call His name Jesus” ; and of *Protev. Jac*, καὶ συλλήψῃ ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ. Our small Gospel of the Infancy, and not Philo, is thus the source of the Logos-doctrine of the fourth Gospel. Resch thinks ἐπίτροπος, in Justin, a more accurate description of Cyrenius than ἡγεμών in Luke ii. 2, and that in the source the re-

gistration was limited to Judea. Luke, he maintains, had in his copy כָּל-הָאָרֶץ which he translated "all the world" (ii. 1) instead of "all the land"—both being possible renderings. He attaches historical value to the oft-repeated statement that Jesus was born in a *cave*; that the Magi came from Arabia; and that Jesus, when hurried away from Judea, was in a *desert*. This last he deems specially important, inasmuch as he considers Rev. xii. to be a sort of apocalyptic embellishment of Herod's persecution of the infant Saviour. He has great respect for the Gospel of Thomas, and regards its account of Christ's interview with the doctors as authentic, being abbreviated, as is his wont, by Luke; and as for the Genealogical Tables he considers the genuine one—at all events that which was contained in our Hebrew source—to be that found in Codex Bezae, Syr. Cur., and a list furnished by Epiphanius. Its peculiarity is that it traces the descent backward from Jesus, as does Luke, but it traces it to David through Solomon as Matthew, and not, as Luke, through Nathan.

Dr Resch is a devout believer. For thirty-three years he has, he tells us, as a Christian pastor, proclaimed the Christmas-gospel with ever increasing joy, and hence his strictures on the theory that the story of the virgin-birth is a Grecian accretion on primitive Christianity, and his defence of the genuineness of the Songs of Mary (p. 99) and of Zacharias (p. 106) are well worthy of perusal. His remarks also on the census (119 f.), on the "star" (144), and on the genealogical register (182-202), and especially his essay on the relation of the gospel of the Infancy to the ancient Confessions (291-319), will well repay attention.

We conclude our review with growing appreciation for the erudition of the author, and hearty congratulations that he has been permitted to bring such a valuable work to its close.

J. T. MARSHALL.

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### Introduction à la Dogmatique.

*Œuvres posthumes de P. F. Jalaguier, Professor à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban (1834-1864). Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1897. Pp. xxiii. 673. Price, F.10.*

AN "Introduction to Dogmatics" in nearly 700 pages seems to show a want of the sense of proportion. The size of this volume is, however, accounted for by observing that it might with equal appropriateness be described as a handbook of Christian Evidences. How closely it corresponds in range and purpose to the apologetic treatise may be seen from a summary of its contents:—

(1) Religion—its idea, origin and nature ; (2) Theology—its relation to religion, and its divisions ; (3) Revelation—its necessity, its difficulties, its proofs, and its relation to reason ; (4) Authenticity or Credibility of N.T. ; (5) The Christian Revelation—internal and external evidences ; (6) Inspiration of N.T. ; (7) Use and authority of the Scriptures ; (8) Principles of Theology—comparative exposition of the rule of faith. The discussion is indeed lightened by a summary treatment of the theistic proofs, and by the evasion of the heavy task of examining the anti-theistic theories ; but the review of the specifically Christian Evidences is remarkably full and searching, while the argument has the not too common merit of advancing carefully and steadily towards the capital apologetic purpose of defining and defending the source and norm of Christian truth.

Professor Jalaguier's *Introduction à la Dogmatique* possesses very considerable historical interest. By the older clergy of the Reformed Church of France it will be cherished as the chief monument of a gifted and revered teacher. From the point of view of the student of Church History, it is an important document which exhibits the doctrinal standpoint, and indicates the staple of the doctrinal teaching of the conservative Montauban theologian who, perhaps more profoundly than some more famous contemporaries, influenced the thought of the Church in a critical period of internecine controversy. But M. Decoppet, who contributes a touching and instructive preface, might well hesitate to affirm that its interest is more than historical. It requires some courage, in an age of over-production, to publish a book which has been laboriously put together, more than thirty years after the writer's death, from an accumulation of College lectures eked out by students' note-books, and which is marred by occasional lacunae and undeniable diffuse repetitions. The publication of the lectures appears even foolhardy when it is remembered that, since Professor Jalaguier laid down his pen, almost every department of theology which he touches has seen the extension of knowledge or the raising of fresh issues. The inevitable disadvantages under which the book labours are that it discourses on the history and philosophy of religion without reference to Max Müller, Herbert Spencer or Pfleiderer ; treats of prophecy in ignorance of Riehm, Kuenen and Robertson Smith ; commends Biblical Theology without mention of Weiss, and in the field of Dogmatics settles accounts with Schleiermacher rather than Ritschl. But while the comparative antiquity of the lectures must seriously detract from their value as an introduction to the ample fields which they cultivate or survey, their appearance may be confidently justified on the ground that an argument on the traditional apologetic lines is still well

entitled to a hearing, and especially in consideration of the fact that the argument is developed by Professor Jalaguier with a degree of clearness, acuteness and vigour which may excite the envy of the average apologist of German or English tongue.

The general attitude of Professor Jalaguier towards modern movements in theology is one of antagonism. To illustrate his attitude, and at the same time to bring into relief the more important positions taken in the lectures, we may refer to his views on the Philosophy of Religion, on the handling of the Christian Evidences, and on the principles of Dogmatics.

Perhaps the section which is most obviously belated is that which deals with the topics usually comprehended under the Philosophy of Religion. The discussion of the nature of religion is, indeed, satisfactory, except as regards the etymology of the term; the psychological elements are admirably distinguished, and the imperfect forms of religion are happily characterised and classified. The treatment of the origin of religion, on the other hand, in view of the wealth of newer speculation and research, is practically useless. Its primitive form is affirmed to have been a monotheism, which was derived from a primitive revelation. The fact of a primitive revelation, it is added, cannot be contested by the Christian, and has always been invoked by theology. On this it may be noted that in the interval not a few theologians who may be very confidently claimed as Christians have argued strongly against this hypothesis of the origin of religion, while in a recent remarkable book so reverent a thinker as Rauwenhoff dismissed it as the one hypothesis not now meriting serious discussion. The truth is, it is admitted by writers of different schools that the Bible does not affirm a primitive special revelation; and in general it may be said that the conditions under which, and the form in which, religion originated, may be determined in various ways without prejudicing the validity of the religious relationship, or the truth and supernatural character of the absolute religion that has emerged in the course of history. It may be added that this theory was never less required than by one holding the old view, as the writer does, of man's possession both of an intuitional and of an inferential knowledge of God—*cognitio insita et acquisita*. For he frankly admits the validity and fruitfulness of the theistic proofs, although he obviously leans most on the intuitional theory, and exhibits as data of the conscience a very complete system of Natural Theology. Since Kant there have been many theologians who offered no proof of the being of the God in whom they believed, there are others who rely for their Natural Theology on inference or on intuition and reject the alternative method, but the theologian who claims both sources as valid and supplements them by the contribution

from a primitive revelation must be regarded as an anachronism indeed.

The main significance of the "Introduction" lies in its vigorous defence of the older apologetic method which assigned cardinal importance to the external evidences in establishing the divine origin of Christianity, while internal evidences were appealed to by it as subsidiary or corroborative. By the external or historical evidences are here understood miracles, prophecy and the *præparatio evangelica*; while the chief heads of the internal or rational are the sublimity of Christian doctrine, its adaptation to the needs of human nature, the *Gesta Christi* and the weakness and inconstancy of infidelity. It is, however, well pointed out that much of the internal evidence is often so handled as to approximate to the argument from miracles—*e.g.*, when it is argued that the doctrinal and ethical content of Christianity, or the character of Christ, are inexplicable as the natural product of their antecedents and environment. The characteristic form of this branch of the evidences is that which affirms that the content of Christianity is self-evidencing to reason and conscience. And it is against the displacement of the argument from supernatural power and wisdom in favour of a mere appeal to experience that Professor Jalaguier so earnestly protests. The sound method, he contends, was that of the older school of apologetics which held that Christianity was true because proved by miracles to be of divine origin, while the method of the new school, which declares Christianity divine because immediately perceived to be true, is, when exclusively relied on, scarcely honest and certainly futile. To put it shortly, most of those who abandon the old method do not wish to demonstrate a Christianity worthy of the name, and by the new method they could not demonstrate it if they would. The real source of the disparagement of the external evidences is, he maintains, the repugnance of the age to the supernatural; and if it be pointed out that many representatives of supernatural faith have taken the same course, it is replied that we may relish the patronage of infidelity while refusing to submit to its dominion. In the second place he urges that this procedure cannot conduct us to and assure us of "true evangelical Christianity"—the heart or the conscience being incapable of vouching for the deep things of revelation; and in any case there remains the disturbing probability that the truths which have their sole proof in human experience had their sole origin in the activity of human reason, and are not immediately from God.

In these strictures on modern apologetics there is doubtless considerable force. To a certain extent the alteration of apologetic method is symptomatic of new conceptions of the nature and lead-



ing doctrines of Christianity. When Christianity is reduced to an amiable Unitarianism, a morality touched with emotion, or a popular version of some philosophical system, these constructions of it will be accepted by many minds on the single ground that they satisfy the mind and the heart, and miracles and prophecy, which are regarded as incredible, will be looked on as also fortunately unnecessary. But neither, certainly, is it the case that the new method has been adopted exclusively in the interests of an evaporated Christianity, or by those who value "the patronage" of unbelieving science. This suggestion is disposed of by a remark of Köstlin, which is at least valid for Germany, that "the theologians of the nineteenth century, widely as they differ from one another in their attitude towards the Bible and tradition, agree in basing the truth of Christianity upon the internal evidences, and in particular on the witness of experience." As regards our author's further contention as to the futility of an exclusive reliance on the witness of experience, it is possible to hold that it carries further than he allows, while admitting that he is right in protesting against its being isolated from the historical evidences. The deepest reason for keeping the faith by which most men are influenced, at least those who have any better ground for their faith than unreflecting custom, is that Christianity "finds" them. It is still less doubtful that one who has broken with Christianity will not listen to the argument from miracles, but will yet sometimes recall sorrowfully what he has lost, and find therein a reason why he should return to his Father's house. Further, it does not appear that experience is unable to witness to truths above reason once they have been revealed; our Lord's promise to them who do the will of God is in the contrary sense. At the same time it may well be felt that it is a strong support to faith to discover that the system which commends itself to us as the truth appeared historically in a supernatural setting; and it is an example of English common sense that our apologists, probably largely influenced by Mozley's powerful monograph, have generally refused to concede that miracles have lost all evidential value.

The discussions of the lectures culminate, as the title implies, in the statement, proof, and defence of the source and norm of Dogmatics—in the common phrase, the formal principle of Protestantism. The view taken is that usual in the Reformed Church—viz., that the Scriptures are the supreme and sole rule of faith and practice, and that neither tradition, nor reason, nor the Christian consciousness may be admitted to a share of the divinely-appointed authority of the Bible. Notice may be taken of an interesting section in which it is forcibly argued that the significance of the Reformation in this connection lay in the substitution of the authority of the Bible for the



authority of the Church, and not, as is often alleged, in the emancipation of the conscience from all external authority, or the assertion of the right of private judgment. The question is an extremely important one, as it involves the title of some modern schools of theology to a *locus standi* in the Protestant Church, and it is not very easily settled: for if on the one hand the Reformers unquestionably accepted the authority of the Scriptures, on the other hand it was as certainly in the exercise of private judgment that they transferred their allegiance to the Scriptures from the Church. For the writer, then, "the Bible and the Bible alone" is the Protestant rule of faith, and this authority the New Testament possesses because of the inspiration granted to the apostles and confirmed by signs, the Old Testament because for it Christ and His inspired apostles stand sponsors. It is, however, only the Scriptural teaching in regard to God and divine things which has this authoritative character; plenary inspiration is not affirmed, and it is implied that matters outside the spiritual sphere were treated under the usual limitations of the historian. And the task of Dogmatic Theology simply is to collect, expound, and defend the teachings of Scripture on spiritual concerns: against Schleiermacher its object is expressly said to be the verification, not of this or that conception of Christianity, but of Christianity itself—the construction, not of an ecclesiastical or confessional Dogmatic, but of an evangelical or biblical system.

At the present day a discussion of the rule of faith would have needed to reckon with other shades of opinion besides those dealt with by Professor Jalaguier—notably with the standpoint of those who, recognising as normative the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, regard as the Bible within the Bible, either the teaching of our Lord, or the Gospel as distinguished from the theology of the New Testament. In criticism of Professor Jalaguier's position it may be enough to remark that he does not sufficiently distinguish the task of Dogmatics from that of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Assuredly the work of the former has not been done even when, besides collecting, arranging, and expounding the doctrinal contents of the New Testament writings, it has been sought to prove and defend them. Dogmatics is the science of Christian dogmas, which implies that, although its highest standard doubtless is the Word of God in the Bible, its immediate commission is in the light thereof to re-edit the heritage of faith which is discoverable in a particular Church at a particular time. It has further to unify the system of Christian thought, and to work out Christian principles in relation to the complex phenomena of the Universe and of human life. Moreover, while it has one supreme, it has no single standard, for the science which professes to expound the truth

of truth is entitled and bound to make use of the light wheresoever it shall be found.

One feature of this book which merits notice is the strain of earnest piety by which it is pervaded. Overcoming the professional temptation to magnify unduly his office, the author never ceases to remind his students that religion is more than theology. It would indeed be difficult to name another book which so admirably combines with scientific thoroughness and literary skill the spirit of the man of prayer and the faithful trustee of souls. So great is the ability of the writer, as revealed in the book, and so beautiful is the character of the man as portrayed in the preface, that one parts with the subject with the regret that the lot of Professor Jalaguier fell in the period before the developments of modern theology had run their course, and thus furnished the material, if not for unanimous decisions, at least for final discussions.

W. P. PATERSON.

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### **Das Herrenmahl, nach Ursprung und Bedeutung.**

*Von Rudolf Schaefer, Licentiaten der Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vii. 420. Price, M.6.*

A FRESH treatise upon the origin and significance of the Lord's Supper might appear to be a work of supererogation. It is rendered desirable, however, if not necessary, by the investigations into the subject, which have recently been undertaken and the theories upon it propounded by writers eminent in the theological world, as Spitta, Harnack, Jülicher and Zahn. The article, *Abendmahl*, in the new edition of "Herzog" is divided into two parts, the *Schriftelehre* by Cremer, and the *Kirchenlehre* by Loofs, and both portions bear testimony to the recent revival of interest in this subject, and the need of a fresh treatment of it, if full account is to be taken of the work of the last few years. Harnack, in Bd. vii. Heft 2 of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1891), on certain passages in Justin, claimed to have shown that the Institution of the Lord's Supper was not originally understood to be a consecration of bread and wine as eucharistic elements, but that Christ's "blessing" was pronounced upon the whole meal, upon the act of eating and drinking; accordingly, that the elements in the Lord's Supper were "the bread" and "the cup," the latter of which need not contain wine, but might be only a cup of water. Zahn replied to Harnack's arguments in the *Theol. Literaturz.* for 1892, and in a separate treatise. Jülicher and Spitta wrote somewhat more elaborately on the subject, in 1892-93, but it is impossible in this article to state or even to

summarise their theories. It may be said in a few words that both of them substantially deny that Christ instituted the Supper as a Christian festival, Spitta denying the connection of the Eucharist with the Jewish Passover, though Jülicher holds this to be established, and Jülicher finds in the Supper simply a parting meal at which Jesus announced His approaching death, whilst Spitta gives to our Lord's words an eschatological significance. All these writers, with other recent German theologians whose names we have not mentioned, discard the idea of the reception of "the body and blood" of the Lord in the Eucharist, in the sense which is given to the phrase in the Lutheran—and, generally speaking, the Evangelical—Confessions.

The volume before us undertakes, therefore, a fresh investigation into the whole subject. After an introduction which briefly reviews the present position, the author divides his work into two parts, dealing severally with the Origin and the Signification of the Lord's Supper. Under the first of these heads he discusses the time at which it was held and the apparent discrepancy between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel; the occasion, and the measure of connection that exists between the Passover and the Eucharist; the accounts of the Institution which have come down to us, the problem raised by the differences between them and its probable solution; closing with a critical investigation of recent hypotheses, and a chapter in which he seeks to show the impossibility of accounting for the observance of the Supper from the first in the Christian Church, if Christ had not directly ordained it. The conclusion reached is, that the Master did institute this observance as a New Covenant, a counterpart, both in its outward form and its inner meaning, to the Passover of the Old Testament. In dealing with the significance of the rite, Schaefer examines minutely the meaning of the words of our Lord as found in the several accounts of the Synoptic Gospels, and of St Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. To the last topic he devotes considerable space, the subject occupying nearly one quarter of the whole treatise.

The examination which has been thus outlined is mainly scriptural, and on its own ground is patient, candid, and fairly complete. Early sources of information as to the observance of the Lord's Supper in the apostolic and sub-apostolic periods are not neglected, but the author is chiefly engaged with the evidence of Scripture, and he discusses current critical theories regarding the documents, and the interpretation of the narratives that have come down to us with a fairness which a writer who can make out so strong a case for his own view can afford to show. It is not to be supposed that a reviewer can agree to every position taken up in a work like this. For example, the conclusion of the inquiry into the date of the

crucifixion will not satisfy all. It is substantially this, that according to the Synoptists, Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and took His last meal with His disciples on the evening of the 14th, a view not contravened in any way by St Paul, whilst St John agrees with this account in assigning the death to a Friday, but in other respects must be admitted to deviate from the Synoptic tradition. For the purposes of this inquiry, Schaefer's conclusion is probably sufficient, and it is perhaps as well that he did not burden his argument with doubtful speculations. His criticism of the "momentary-inspiration-theory" of Spitta and others, which would rob the Supper of its institutional significance, is conclusive, and his explanation of the differences between St Mark's account of the Supper—on which critics have largely relied as a basis for their speculations—and the fuller accounts of other writers, is as complete as the circumstances admit. The interpretation given of *κοινωνία* in 1 Cor. x. 16 foll. is not so satisfactory. But as regards his main object, Schaefer appears to us to have made good his position against recent criticism, in proving the definite institution of the Supper by Christ and its connection with the Jewish Passover; and he will take most of his Protestant readers with him in his protest against the "magical" interpretation of the meaning of the Eucharist, and his conclusion that faith alone can enjoy in its observance the blessing which Jesus promised, the mystical partaking of His "body and blood." The book, as a whole, furnishes an excellent example of sound modern exegesis of Scripture.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### 1. The Books of Joel and Amos.

*By Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Extra Fcp. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 3s. 6d.*

### 2. The First Book of Maccabees.

*By W. Fairweather, M.A., and J. Sutherland Black, LL.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Extra Fcp. 8vo, pp. 271. Price, 3s. 6d.*

### 3. The Myths of Israel.

*The Ancient Book of Genesis, with analysis and explanation of its Composition. By Amos Kidder Fiske. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. and 355. Price, 6s.*

1. DR DRIVER'S Commentary on *Joel and Amos* is not only a valuable addition to the *Cambridge Bible* series, but will henceforward be

reckoned amongst the most notable contributions to the Literature of the Twelve Prophets. Like everything that comes from his pen, this little work is marked by that severe accuracy in the minutest details which we have learned to expect from this author. Not only linguistic knowledge and exegetical skill, but archæological and scientific research mark the pages of this text-book. It may safely be predicted that the elaborate excursus on "Locusts" will in future be a favourite mine for commentators on Joel to quarry from.

The date of Joel, as is well known, has in the past seriously divided critics, having been fixed at periods hundreds of years apart from each other. There are tokens, however, that the reproach of this uncertainty is about to be taken away, and we have little doubt that ere long a post-exilic date will be generally accepted. After the closest examination of the data, Dr Driver assigns the book to the early post-exilic period, c. 500 B.C. We are glad to find him also accepting the locusts as actual and not allegorical. In this connection he deals very satisfactorily with the "northerner," an expression which we have long felt does not deserve the importance it has been customary to attach to it.

In the part of his work dealing with Amos, Dr Driver's characteristic candour and caution find excellent illustration, when he discusses those passages which many modern scholars regard as later interpolations. Upon the whole he fails to discover sufficient grounds for denying their authenticity.

This commentary, with its Illustrations and Additional Notes, as well as its carefully prepared Index (including a very useful list of Hebrew words commented on or explained), is the very ideal of what such a work should be.

2. Considering that it is a "source" of extreme value for our knowledge of a certain period of Jewish history, the First Book of Maccabees has not hitherto received in this country the attention due to it. In some quarters, indeed, the whole Apocrypha was until lately practically a sealed book. It is therefore gratifying to have a commentary on First Maccabees included in such a reliable series as the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. Mr Fairweather and Dr Black have accomplished their task well, and the publication of this volume should dissipate not a few misunderstandings, and dispel a good deal of ignorance. Very wisely, we think, the text of the Revised Version (published two years ago) has been adopted. The volume opens with a very careful historical examination of the words "Apocrypha" and "Apocryphal," which have so often altered their meaning. Attention is rightly concentrated upon the technical sense which, since the Reformation, the word "Apocrypha" has borne (differing here from the usage of the Greek and Roman

Churches), as applied to the *deutero-canonical* works, which had a place in the Greek and Latin Bibles, but not in the Hebrew Canon. The name *Maccabaeus* is admitted to be of uncertain origin, but, upon the whole, the authors are inclined to interpret it as = "the hammerer," from *makkābāh* = hammer. A succinct sketch of the Maccabaeian struggle is followed by a discussion of the Authorship, Sources, Original Language, and Unity of the book. On some of these points a good deal of diversity of opinion still prevails, and the materials for arriving at an independent judgment, or, at least, for further study, are placed at the disposal of readers. The book is prefaced by a useful map and enriched with valuable illustrations. The commentary proper leaves nothing to be desired. The printing is marvellously correct; we have noted only one slip, Bandissin, on page 197.

3. This book has undoubted merits, but it has also serious defects. Its author has the gift of clear exposition, his style is bright and flowing, and his aim is praiseworthy, "to set forth for the common understanding the view of the Old Testament which modern knowledge justifies." But Mr Fiske strikes one as hardly adequately furnished for his self-imposed task. Neither in knowledge of the literary analysis of the Hexateuch nor in acquaintance with recent archæological discoveries does he appear to be up to date. Genesis he partitions between *two* authors, whom he calls by the misleading titles, the Jehovist and the Elohist. By the first he apparently means J (of E, so far as appears, he has never heard), whom, contrary to all probability, he assigns to the northern kingdom, further throwing out the "fascinating conjecture" that this writer may have been identical with the personality veiled behind the names of Elijah and Elisha. In dealing with the narratives of Genesis, our author's method is very drastic. We are not of those who pin their faith to Sayce or Hommel, and would rescue the literal historicity of these stories at all costs, but we must protest against the reduction of *everything* to myth. This work will not have been written in vain if it leads to the study of works (*e.g.*, those of Ryle and Driver) which supply its defects.

J. A. SELBIE.

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### Twelve Indian Statesmen.

*By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: John Murray, 1897.*  
8vo, pp. 324. Price, 10s. 6d.

THIS book has come as a surprise to readers. We all knew that great men had been among us; our empire-building, especially on the continent of India, could not have been done without expendi-



ture both of genius and energy. But we did not all know, or many of us had forgot, how much of that shaping and moulding energy has been distinctively Christian. This book has revealed it, in the biographies of twelve men who "subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness" in India. One of these twelve, Sir Herbert Edwardes, wrote the life of another, Sir Henry Lawrence, and prefixed to it a Dedication, which Dr George Smith has borrowed, as expressing his own purpose in this volume :—

"To all my countrymen who care for India, and especially to the young whose lot is to be cast there :

"To show how possible and good it is to unite the statesman with the soldier, the philanthropist with the patriot, and the Christian with all, in the government of a subject race."

Not many books are successful, and even of those which succeed few attain their intended and proclaimed object. But we really think that the present volume has done this. It would have attained it, had it only contained the sketches of the first three : Charles Grant, "the first and greatest of Indian philanthropists," and the two Lawrence brothers. All these were men of the most pronounced personal piety and Christian belief ; and the fact that modern India is so largely their monument makes one look back with deeper respect to the early evangelicalism of this century, as well as, with a somewhat anxious hope, to the larger and laxer faith of the present. But it is well that the volume does not stop with them. All the others are interesting—Outram, M'Leod, Durand, Mackenzie, Edwardes, Marshman, Maine, Ramsay, and Aitchison ; and of the whole twelve, Dr Smith says, "Except the first, I had the good fortune to know them all, and to count some of them as intimate friends." They did not all agree in opinion : the two Lawrences, for example, were divided by "the conflicting policies of the two Afghan and two Sikh wars of the last half-century, which have resulted in the Russo-Afghan peace, and the present subjugation of the independent tribes of the frontier"—policies even which, to judge from recent vacillations, may still to some extent divide men. Dr Smith has his own opinion on these matters. But such dividing questions do not bulk in the book : the moral and religious interest of the imperial story is undoubtedly what arrests us as we open it, and what predominates till the close.

We are glad to learn, too, that our distinguished countryman is not to be content with these rough cameos (for with all their excellencies they are undoubtedly rough and careless in their execution). He has it in prospect "to review historically the acts of the whole series of Governor-Generals," from Lord Dalhousie to the present Lord Elgin. And in this larger enterprise he hopes incidentally "to do justice to other workers with whom I have been



associated"—some dead, such as Sir Henry Yule and Sir Henry Daly, Sir George Campbell and Sir Bartle Frere, Dr John Muir and Sir William Mackinnon; and some living, such as "the other great Field-Marshal" who is not Lord Roberts, Sir Donald Stewart, Mr Meredith Townsend, Dr William Miller, Sir William Muir, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Richard and Sir John Strachey, and others. We congratulate Dr Smith and his readers on the prospect of so large a canvass, which (without losing the attractive personal and biographical element) will justify him in the use throughout of the bigger brush and the stronger sweep of arm.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

**Ethics: An Investigation of the Facts and Laws of the Moral Life.**

*By William Wundt, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipzig. Vol. I.: The Facts of the Moral Life, translated by Julia Gulliver, Professor of Philosophy in Rockford College, and Edward Bradford Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. 8vo, pp. xii. 339. Price, 7s. 6d. Vol. II.: Ethical Systems, translated by Margaret Floy Washburn, Professor of Psychology and Ethics in Wells College. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. vii. 196. Price, 6s.*

**Introduction to Philosophy. A Handbook for Students of Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Æsthetics and General Philosophy.**

*By Oswald Külpe, Professor of Philosophy and Æsthetics in the University of Würzburg. Translated from the German by W. R. Pillsbury, Instructor of Psychology in the Cornell University, and E. B. Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. x. 256. Price, 6s.*

**Two Lectures on Theism, delivered on the Occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University.**

*By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 2s. 6d.*

**The Herbartian Psychology applied to Education, being a series of Essays applying the Psychology of Johann Friedrich Herbart.**

*By John Adams, M.A., B.Sc., Fellow of the College of Preceptors, President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, 1896-7, Rector of the Free Church Training College, Aberdeen. London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 284. Price, 2s. 6d.*

THE translation of Wundt's *Ethics* confers a great boon on English students of philosophy. There is no book in our language which covers the same ground, or is constructed on a similar plan. The system of *Ethics*, when the whole of it is translated, will extend to three volumes, and of these the translation of the first two now lies before us. The first volume deals with the facts of the moral life, and the second is a compact historical sketch and brief criticism of ethical systems. This work is done to prepare the way for his own constructive system, the translation of which will, no doubt, speedily follow. As to the system of Wundt, its merits or defects, we shall say nothing at present, reserving criticism until the translation appears. We shall speak shortly on the two volumes already in English.

We have read them with delight, and with much interest. The translation is done in a most scholarly fashion, with a due regard no less to the meaning of the author than to the demands of the English tongue. It is really rendered into English which is both graceful and idiomatic.

The treatise is worthy of an adequate rendering, for it is one of the most valuable and instructive on its subject it has been our fortune to read. Professor Wundt has set himself in a thorough way to ascertain the facts of the moral life. A brief introduction deals with *Ethics* as the science of norms, sets forth the methods of ethics, and describes the problems of ethics. Then he proceeds to find the facts of the moral life. He believes that these may be found by an examination of these workings of the human mind which are objectively manifested in language, in religion, in custom and in civilisation generally. While he does not neglect the introspective method, he does not lay stress on it. Indeed it is only in an occasional manner that he casts a glance into the mind of the individual. But his investigation into language, religion, custom, and into the conditions of moral evolution in civilisation and in savagery, with a view to ascertain the facts of the moral life, is most instructive, as well as original. It is a useful work, exceedingly well done. It is a field of inquiry that has been

wrought by comparatively few, and as it is a very fruitful field, we may expect that the labourers will increase. The first chapter interrogates language with a view to ascertain what light it may cast on the general idea of morality, and on the development of special ethical ideas. The second chapter inquires into the contribution which religion has made to morality, and it dwells on such subjects as myth and religion, the Gods as moral ideals, and on religion and the moral order of the world. We wish that we had space to dwell on some of the sections of this chapter, and to indicate the fine, clear and scientific result of his investigation into the religious history of mankind in its bearing on the nature and growth of morality. As much might be said on the third chapter on custom and the moral life. It must be remembered that he writes on these things not for their own sake, but for the light they cast on the facts of the moral life. Yet the case is so lucidly dealt with, and so clearly set forth, that we have really a history of religion and a history of custom of a very valuable sort. While he tells us what custom is, and how it grew, he is also telling us of the ethical significance of this custom and of that. Thus we learn of the ethical significance of the forms of social intercourse, of the feelings of sympathy and filial affection, and of the legal system. Perhaps the quickest way of letting the reader know the results of the whole investigation is to quote:—"Wherever we can trace the development of moral conceptions with sufficient fulness, we find that it falls into three stages. Each of these has its own distinguishing marks, mainly determined by the relations in which the various parallel part-developments stand to one another at any given time. In its first beginnings the moral life is very much the same the world over: the growth of the social impulses, overrun as they are by the selfishness of barbarism, is greatly confined: and consequently certain external advantages that are useful to their possessor and to his associates are held in chief esteem as virtues. The first stage in which there is an almost total lack of moral incentive is transcended for the most part under the interactions of religious feelings with the social impulses. Morality thus enters on its second stage, in which the differences in religious and social conditions are paralleled by a growing differentiation of views of life. We may therefore term it the age of the differentiation of moral ideas. The third stage is introduced by yet another change in religious conceptions, and characterised by the gradual growth of philosophical influence. Religion and philosophy continue to further that humanistic tendency in the moral life whose preponderance always marks the maturity of the moral consciousness: so that under this influence the differences of national standpoint are effaced again. This law

of the three stages, or of the successive differentiation and unification of moral ideas is as fully attested by the change in the meaning of words as it is by the history of religious civilisation."

If the method of Professor Wundt has not enabled him to ascertain all the facts of the moral life, it certainly has enabled him to find many of them, to classify them, and to regard them in their history and development, but criticism we reserve till his system is before us, then we shall be able to look at his preliminary studies in the light of his completed work.

He passes on to a history of ethical systems, and here his work might be fitly compared with the similar work of Professor Sidgwick. Here, too, he applies the idea of development, and strives to trace the history of ethical systems as an evolution. The general title of the second volume is, "the development of moral theories of the universe." It is a difficult task, for a history of the development of ethical system is bound to be exhaustive and complete. As a matter of fact, the history is limited to the line of Western thought on ethics, and any contribution from India or ancient Persia is quite ignored. He begins with Greek ethics, then passes to Christian ethics, and then gives a full history of modern ethics. Indeed, it would seem to be taken for granted that there has been no ethical development outside of these Western lands. There are, however, traces of the influence of Eastern thought on the life and thought of Europe, and some recognition of this fact might have found a place in a volume which professes to trace the development of moral theories of the universe. The influence of Persia on European theories can be traced, and we have evidence of the influence of India in many ways, even so recently as the case of Schopenhauer.

Still what we get is of supreme worth. The sketch of Greek ethics is luminous, and the development of Greek thought in this sphere of thought is adequately and firmly traced. The transition from ancient ethics to Christian is set forth in an instructive, if in a somewhat partial manner. In the description of Christian ethics a comparatively large space is given to Augustine and the Pelagian controversy, which had so decisive an influence on later Christian thought and life. Scholastic ethics is well treated, and the description of the fall of scholasticism is most graphic. There is a good sketch of the ethics of the reformation. His strength is chiefly put forth in his description and criticism of modern ethical systems. Full justice is done to the ethical systems, which had their rise in our country. Bacon and Hobbes, Locke, Shaftesbury, the English Deists, and Hume duly appear, for the Germans are familiar with these; for they flourished before Germany had arrived at the consciousness of her destiny, and before she had made much of a con-

tribution to ethics or philosophy. The absence of Butler's name from the list of British moralists gives rise to many reflections, which we have not space to express. From England he passes to France, and gives us a lucid description of the ethics of French Materialism. The metaphysical ethics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, associated with the names of Spinoza, Leibnitz, Descartes, Wolff, and the German Enlightenment being dealt with, he passes to the ethics of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and thence to the realistic ethics of Herbart, and to the various naturalistic theories of ethics current in England and Germany, and finally to utilitarian ethics as affected by the influence of evolution.

The final chapter of the volume deals with the classification of ethical systems. We can only give the general scheme, which is this, Authoritative ethical systems, Eudaimonistic systems, and Evolutionary ethical systems. It will be readily seen that this is a great and noteworthy contribution to the literature of ethics. We look forward with eagerness to the reading of Wundt's own contribution to this great subject.

The Introduction to 'Philosophy by Professor Külpe is the very book which a student needs, in order to give him a general notion of philosophy as a whole, and of the particular philosophical sciences, before he begins a special study of one of them. The only Introduction to philosophy which we know as a book likely to be useful to the student, is the one written by Professor Ladd of Yale, and it is too awful to be put into the hand of a student. Professor Ladd is a voluminous writer, who has written many books on philosophy, and these books contain many good things, but they are too long, and are badly expressed, and are hard to be understood. The book before us is brief, it is also clear in style, lucid in thought, artistically divided, and the arrangement of topics leaves nothing to be desired. It is the book we should place in the hands of a beginner in philosophy, it is a book to put into the hands of a specialist in one of the departments of philosophy, to remind him of the height, depth, length, and breadth of philosophy; and the veteran student can learn something from its masterly pages. We know the philosophical views of Professor Külpe from his other works, but this book is written not to set forth his own views, but to give us an objective knowledge of the general idea of philosophy, and of the problems set to the particular philosophical disciplines. It is splendidly done, calmly and objectively he sets forth the views of those with whom he has to deal, and strives to do so without bias. He has not allowed a difference of view to bias his statement, and on the whole he has succeeded in treating with uniform interest and impartiality ancient and modern systems of philosophy, those

he approves of and also those from whose teaching he dissents. It is impossible to criticise a book like this which travels over the whole sphere of philosophy, deals succinctly with all the problems of its special disciplines, and leaves no philosophical problem untouched. We can only say that the spirit and ability of the book are excellent.

The lectures delivered by Professor Seth at Princeton, on a memorable occasion, are now published, and are worthy of the man and of the occasion. They form a great contribution to the history and to the solution of the theistic problem. The gift of exposition of Professor Seth is as remarkable as his speculative power and his wide knowledge. He is a metaphysician and a poet, and he always makes us acquainted with the concrete implications of any matter he discusses. In these lectures the theistic question is not lost sight of in abstract discussions nor drowned in verbal argumentation. He begins with a reference to deism, pantheism, theism—old friends whose garbs have been worn threadbare by frequent discussion, and in his hands they become fresh, vigorous and vital. We see them in their historical setting as they appeared in English, German and French thought in the eighteenth century, and their nature and interrelations are vividly and truly described. They prepare the way for the great names of Kant and Hegel, and the value of their contributions to the theistic argument are set forth with that lucid ability characteristic of the author. He acknowledges freely the great value of their work, no less freely he points out their defects and their shortcomings, and this part of his work will command the gratitude of all who know. Hegelianism attracts a large share of his attention, and Bradley's book on "Appearance and Reality" finally is dealt with in some remarkable paragraphs. Many books on Theism have appeared in recent years, but these two lectures are as valuable a contribution to the literature of Theism as any of them. We wish Professor Seth would give us a treatise on the subject.

Mr Adams is recognised to be one of our foremost educationalists, and the honours of his profession have been showered on him. Trained at our normal colleges and at our universities, master of all that they could teach him, he has continued to work and to study, and has ever striven to use all that science and philosophy can give him in the service of education. He is an enthusiastic teacher, and all his resources are ready to his hand. From this book we can see that he has studied psychology in many schools, and is acquainted with the method and results of them all. While he has studied psychological schools for their own sake, we can see how the



enthusiastic teacher soon began to study them with a view to education. Can psychology help me to train the young mind? This was the question he ever asked himself, and the answer is in this wise, witty, and deeply interesting book. We are rather sorry that Mr Adams has weighted himself with the burden of an exposition of Herbart's psychology. It distracts the attention of the reader from the main object of the treatise, and is apt to discourage teachers from the attempt to master a book, the perusal of which would be to their lasting benefit. It is a pity, too, for what Mr Adams owes to Herbart might have been found in other psychologists, in fact it may now be regarded as common property, though due largely to Herbart in the first instance. The part of Herbart which Mr Adams uses is associated in the minds of those who know the history of psychology with the part that Mr Adams discards, and they might, if they did not read Mr Adams' book, think that Mr Adams is an atomist. This would be a great mistake, as Mr Adams is too well informed to accept the whole teaching of Herbart. We imagine that he, in the search for help in teaching, found that Herbart presented many psychological facts and principles in such a way as to be directly helpful to the teacher, and gratitude led Mr Adams to place his own contribution to the science and art of teaching under the name of the man to whom he felt indebted. It was generous and chivalrous on his part, but he will have to pay a price for it.

The book is brilliant and suggestive, the first chapter is an attempt to show the teacher how he may come to know his pupil, and a bright and helpful chapter it is. The second is a review of Psychologies, not in themselves, but in their bearing on education. Then there is the exposition of the Herbartian psychology, a piece of work thoroughly well done. Then we have a humorous examination of the theory of initial equality. "The conclusion of the whole matter is," says Mr Adams, "that we do not know whether all souls are equal at birth, and that after all it does not matter, for by the time the pupil makes his appearance in school his soul is different from the other souls in his class." The chapters we should single out for special commendation are those on "the meaning of observation" and "the doctrine of interest." We do not mean that the chapters we have not named are devoid of interest, or that they are less able than the rest. We mean that these illustrate the power of the author to excite interest and to quicken the intelligence of the reader. They are valuable, not only for their educative function, they are also fine examples of literary criticism. We hope that Mr Adams will continue this kind of work. It is fitted to be eminently useful, and not many men are qualified to do it.

JAMES IVERACH.



**Philosophy of Knowledge : An Inquiry into the Nature, Limits, and Validity of Human Cognitive Faculty.**

*By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Longmans, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 614. Price, \$4 ; 18s.*

THE problem of knowledge is, in some respects, one of the most fundamental and profound that can engage the mind of man. In it the spirit of man turns upon itself to ask, with severe and earnest air, in respect of Reality—What canst thou know? It is that inquiry which, of all others, comes nearest to what may be styled “presuppositionless.” In it the mind is not content with the uncritical attitude of the scientific realist any more than it is with that of “the man in the street.” It demands an inquiry into human cognition alike on the psychological and the ontological sides. It maintains, as its indefeasible right, that it *does* know truth or reality, but it is yet eager to subject the principles of all such cognition to the severest and most protracted scrutiny. So may it come to know *what* is really known in the process of knowledge, for its knowing will carry it beyond knowledge itself to reality. This it will do in virtue of the objectivity, or at least trans-subjectivity, which is of the very nature of knowledge. The cognitive subject cannot fail to recognise that that of which he has knowledge exists without him, and cannot possibly be one with his own mental state. He who would essay to solve the epistemological problem cannot begin—if he would improve upon Kant—with a too complete and severe psychological analysis, however true it be that mere psychology cannot carry him to his destined end or goal. The problem of knowledge has been a fruitful branch of inquiry since Kant's time. Hence the numerous works in Germany on *Erkenntnistheorie*, or *Erkenntnisslehre*, or *Wissenschaftslehre*, or such like subjects, among which might be instanced the writings of Zeller, Stählin, Volkelt, Uphues, Paulsen, Riehl, Volkmann, von Volkmar, Hartmann, Caspari, Busse, Kaulich, Stumpf, Schuppe, Thiele, and others whose names are not written in the minds of philosophical students in this country. Passing strange seems, therefore, the remarkable dearth of investigations in English upon the subject. Though Professor Henry Jones a few years ago commended Hegel as having no epistemology and needing none, it was very properly pointed out by Professor Andrew Seth that there never was a time when such really dogmatic procedure, in respect of the possibility and validity of knowledge, was so little in order as amid the confusions of the present. Though we may never be able to find a vantage ground outside of thought or knowledge whence we may pass judgment

upon it, we may surely reduce to true and full significance these mind principles, and inquire what real validity attaches to representations of reality found within our consciousness. It is, as far as possible from an idle or superfluous task to make explicit our warrant for assuming the valid character of our knowledge. Professor Ladd had already, in his "Introduction to Philosophy," evidenced his keen interest in the problem of knowledge. But it was reserved for the present work to make that a separate subject of investigation. It may very well claim to be "a pioneer work." It is the most complete and satisfying work on the subject in the language. He has "striven constantly to make epistemology vital," and when it is said that, in spite of its abstract and academic interest, he has wondrously succeeded, the praise is not small. Every difficulty may not have been resolved, nor every sceptical uprising quelled, but this, from the nature of the case, could hardly be expected, however competent the handling might be. Professor Ladd has none of Lotze's indifference to discussion of theories of cognition, but has pursued his self-imposed task with a patience and enthusiasm that are worthy of all praise. In his strivings after clearness he even runs risk of being charged as prolix. So comprehensive is the treatment that the directness and force of the argument might for some be at first hardly quite apparent. Through many vicissitudes is knowledge traced by our author—in its kinds, degrees, and limits—until it appears at length in presence of the Absolute, where "knowledge is indeed relative," but where "it is itself the establishment of a relation between the Revealer, the Absolute Self, and the self to whom the revelation comes." This conclusion of the whole matter is due, Professor Ladd contends, to man's kinship with Reality, such kinship coming into view as a presupposition that had been really present during the whole epistemological inquiry, however critical and "presuppositionless" that inquiry in its attempted mode might be. A somewhat refreshing unconventionality marks our author's style and illustrations, and he seems to be of those of us who think it hardly possible to do much for the world's thought to-day and yet remain absolute purists. In the opening chapter the problem is very well stated, and the history of opinion is suggestively dealt with in the two chapters that follow. Then follows the psychological view, whereby the study of cognitive faculty, or its critical analysis, yields the sufficient answer to scepticism and agnosticism. "The denial," says Professor Ladd, "of the full import of the primary acts of cognition is the denial of the possibility of knowledge of any kind; it is the abandonment of all attempt at a critical epistemology." And

"the facts of consciousness are not themselves intelligible without the assumption of an extra-mental reality on which consciousness is dependent." It is this, in fact, which stimulates in us that impulse to know which the Germans fitly style *Wissenstrieb* or *Wissensdrang*. Knowledge and thinking, knowledge as feeling, knowledge as will, knowledge of things, and knowledge of self, are among the subjects that next receive attention. These are very necessary, since knowledge—apart from feeling and volition—cannot be expressive of the whole of reality, and since neither the complete identity nor the total separation of thing and self is admissible. We should have esteemed still more highly Professor Ladd's philosophical services here if he had not treated the knowledge of self and the knowledge of things in quite so separate a fashion, but had dealt more with such matters as to whether there is any knowledge of the self which is not a knowledge of the world, and as to the significance our knowledge of the world carries for our knowledge of the self. From consideration of identity and difference, and sufficient reason, we onward pass to experience and the transcendent, a theme of more than ordinary moment. Of "Experience" our author says that, however extensive we may make the meaning of the word, "critical examination shows that experience is always and necessarily transcended by cognition." For, "if man did *not* transcend his own experience, he could, as a man, have no *cognitive* experience." With great clearness he brings out the need, to the concept of experience itself, alike of the immanent and the transcendent, the subjective and the trans-subjective. "In cognition always, as soon as we inquire critically into its grounds and its significance, we see the mind leaping beyond its present limits into the real world that is unseen and unrecognised by any present act of consciousness." So we easily come to consider the ontological implicates of our knowledge, when the trans-subjective—the transcendent Real—is insisted upon as implicate in all cognition. The categories, ontologically regarded, become, in the view of our author, forms of being, because implicate in self-consciousness. Really existent being, as man knows it, has for its implicates powers of intellect, feeling, and will, for these all are "implicates of that life of cognition which the Self knows itself to have." The alleged "antinomies" are disposed of as by one who stoutly believes that these antinomies are solved with every act of knowledge. In this connection we have some tolerably candid criticism of Bradley's "Appearance and Reality" in its ontological bearings. The teleological character of all perceptive cognition is carefully set forth, our author being fully alive to the fact that cognition is only part of that life in us which is moving towards those ideals that ever lie

beyond us. Already we have said sufficient to show the excellent character of the work, and we are too grateful for "pioneer work" in this or any like department to take pleasure in serious fault-finding, or to do other, in fact, than bid it cordial welcome.

JAMES LINDSAY.

**Mose B. Samuel Hakkohen Ibn Chiquitilla, nebst den Fragmenten seiner Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibelexegese und der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft im Mittelalter.**

*Von Dr Samuel Poznanski. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 200. Price, M.7.*

IN the eleventh century Cordova was the first city of Spain. It was a city of temples. At the close of the tenth century, if Prescott's census is trustworthy, it contained six hundred places of worship.<sup>1</sup> Among these, it is unnecessary to say, the famous Mosque occupied a place quite unique. To the faithful in Europe Cordova filled the place of Mecca to their co-religionists in the East; and the Mosque of the Caliphs in Spain (with the doubtful exception of that of Omar in Jerusalem) was regarded as the second of the sacred edifices of Islam.

To the Caliphs of the West religion was not a superstition. During the prosperous period of the Omiades, the men of learning and literary ability who were attracted to Cordova brought much greater distinction to the capital than its hundreds of churches. Among the learned Jews who did honour to the fair city on the Guadalquivir was Ibn Chiquitilla. He was a native of Cordova, and, notwithstanding a bodily infirmity, he appears to have won a foremost place among his contemporaries as a Biblical exegete, a grammarian, a preacher, and a poet. Such, at least, is the testimony of Moses Ibn Ezra (as quoted by Dr Poznanski, p. 10), and, in point of time, he was near enough to Ibn Chiquitilla to be likely to know. If Graetz may be trusted Ibn Chiquitilla was a disciple of Abulwalid,<sup>2</sup> the date of whose birth was probably about the close of the tenth century. By that time the prosperity of the Moorish dynasty was beginning to wane. Early in the eleventh century the Jews in Cordova were exposed to troubles of various kinds, and not a few of their distinguished men left the city. Among these was Abulwalid, who went to Saragossa. By and bye

<sup>1</sup> Ferd. and Isab. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Gesch. d. Juden, Bd. vi., 1 Aufg., pp. 82, 3.

Ibn Chiquitilla followed him to that city, and, if Graetz's statement is correct, it is possible that the desire to be near his old master drew him to the capital of Aragon. The information which has reached us goes to show that, after a time, he left Saragossa and anticipated Ibn Ezra, who has preserved to us so many fragments of his writings, in travelling from place to place, probably using his special gifts as a preacher as opportunity offered. (Dr Poznanski throws out the hint that rationalistic views possibly rendered it difficult for him to reside for any length of time in one place. That he was in advance of his time in his theological and other opinions may be safely inferred from the fragments of his works which have been preserved to us. But the information necessary to construct anything like a reliable biography is wanting. We are left to conjecture.)

It is a matter of deep regret that the most interesting and important works of Ibn Chiquitilla have been lost. His translation of Chayyug's Hebrew Grammar has been preserved, but his exegetical works, which would have been highly prized in these days, have reached us in a comparatively small number of fragments, most of which are translations. The thanks of Old Testament students are due to Dr Poznanski for collecting these fragments and giving them to the world as they are presented in the volume before us. The conclusion at which Dr Poznanski arrives regarding Ibn Chiquitilla as an exegete will probably be regarded, in most quarters, as reasonable, when regard is had to the scanty materials available for his estimate.

It has been observed that recent critical views on O.T. questions may largely be found in the literary works of Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages. And these fragments from the pen of Ibn Ch. *pro tanto* support the correctness of the observation. To speak generally, his opinions appear to have been characterised by a freshness of view and a freedom from prejudice remarkable for the times to which he belonged. This will probably be conceded, when regard is had to his critical opinions on some O.T. questions which, in our day, have been subjects of keen discussion. The second part of Isaiah he appears to have assigned to the exilic or post-exilic period. The opening words of chap. xl. are applied to the Jews of the second temple (על בית שני). But as the *servant* of chap. lii. 13 ffg. is Hezekiah, the unity of chs. xl.-lxvi. would have to be given up. This is one of the points on which we crave information, and the fragments which have reached us do not supply it.

Ibn Ezra (Abraham) has generally received the credit of having suggested the Deutero-Isaiah. He held Ibn Chiquitilla in high repute. He speaks of him as the greatest grammarian and one of the most

famous Biblical exegetes. In his writings he has preserved to us more of the literary productions of his distinguished predecessor than any other Jewish scholar of the period.<sup>1</sup> It is only reasonable to assume that he was familiar with Ib. Ch.'s opinion regarding the book of Isaiah. And it may be that Ib. Ezra simply adopted the view already propounded by his predecessor.

The reference of the words of Isa. lii. 13 ffg. to Hezekiah brings to the front another point of connection between Ib. Ch. and advanced critics of our own time. One of the most valuable results of recent discussions is that which directly connects O.T. prophecy with the times of the prophet. The prophet has a message to the men of his day. The interpretation and application of the prophetic message raise a more difficult problem. Anything like a consensus of opinion on this point can scarcely be expected at present. The whole question of Messianic prophecy is involved. No discussion of this subject can be attempted in a notice like this ; but it may be of some interest to indicate what appears to have been the attitude of Ib. Ch. to this important question. An example may best serve the purpose. Take the well-known prophecy, Mic. iv. 11-v. 1 (Heb.). If the N.T. is authoritative, the words refer to Jesus Christ (*cf.* Matt. ii. 4-6). Of course the N.T. has no authority for Ib. Ch. The question is, "does he regard the prophecy as Messianic?" And the answer is, No! unless Zerubbabel is the Messiah. The prophecy refers to the Jews in Jerusalem under Zerubbabel. The prophet has the second temple before his mind (ידבר על בית שני). The ruler (ch. v. 1) is Zerubbabel, for Zerubbabel was of the family of Jeconiah, the lineal descendant of David (*cf.* 1 Chron. iii. 15 ffg., etc.). This Zerubbabel is the person spoken of under the name of The Branch in Zech. vi. 12, and in v. 13 it is said of him that he shall sit and rule upon his throne. Farther, the words of Mic. iv. 13, are explained in connection with what is said of Zerubbabel (Zech. iv. 7), "who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel a plain!" Accordingly, this message which Micah delivers for the encouragement of Zion—which promises to the Church a crushing defeat of the hostile world powers—the result of which is to be the conversion of the resources of those powers to the service of the people of Jehovah, is explained in connection with a prince who, however worthy, had to maintain a continuous struggle against the petty tribes round about Jerusalem, and, if the history of the O.T. is trustworthy, did not succeed in rebuilding the temple till twenty years after the restoration from Babylon. The same line of remark may be followed in regard to the words of Zech. ix. 9. The king, in this

<sup>1</sup> Abr. Ibn Ezra bildet die Hauptquelle für die Kenntniss der Bibelexegese und der Grammatik I. Ch.'s, p. 55.



passage, according to Ib. Ch., is Nehemiah ; and Neh. vi. 7 is referred to in support of the opinion. When we turn to Nehemiah we find that, on four different occasions, Sanballat endeavoured to arrest the work of the patriotic Jew in Jerusalem. When these attempts failed this bitter enemy of the Jews circulated, through an open letter, a false report to the effect that it was the intention of the Jews to rebel and to make Nehemiah king. And it is apparently on this report that Ib. Ch. founds his view that the king referred to in Zech. ix. 9 is Nehemiah.

These examples may suffice to show how this distinguished Jewish scholar was disposed to handle O.T. prophecy. It may seem perilous to suggest a general view from one or two cases. Other passages might be referred to which are interpreted in a similar fashion. The exposition fails to do justice to the language. The historical references are unsuitable, and the conclusion arrived at frequently diverges as seriously from current Jewish as from Christian opinion. This, according to Dr Poznanski, sufficiently explains the disappearance of Ib. Ch.'s works. For a century or more he was quoted by Jewish scholars, but after the thirteenth century his writings seem to have been lost. David Kimchi used them, and, if our author may be trusted, he was the last Western European scholar to do so. How is it, asks Dr Poznanski, that an age like this, which has brought to light so many literary works that were unknown or buried out of sight, has failed to discover any of the biblical writings of Ib. Ch.? The answer he suggests is that these writings are probably lost beyond the hope of recovery, and that, mainly, on account of the rationalistic views of the author. "If he had had the sense to conceal his free opinions, or to give expression to them in the form of suggestions, as Ibn Ezra did somewhat later, some at least of his commentaries might have been preserved. As it is, they have sunk and disappeared in the stream of time" (p. 69). The remark is significant. If Ib. Ch.'s works have been lost, for the reason suggested by Dr Poznanski, they are probably not the only works which have shared such a fate.

Fortunately his translation of the grammatical work of Judah b. David (Chayyug) remains. This great scholar (Chayyug) was the first to set Hebrew grammar on a scientific basis. "Among us," says Ibn Ezra, "there was no real knowledge of grammar till Rab. Judah b. David, the first of the grammarians, arose." Chayyug devoted his attention mainly to verbs containing feeble and double letters. He established the principle that Hebrew roots consist of three consonants, and in this way laid the foundation for a scientific treatment of Hebrew grammar. Abulwalîd carried forward the work so well begun by Chayyug. The latter wrote in Arabic, which was an unknown tongue to many of the Jews in the West.



And Ib. Ch. rendered a service of high value to the Christian as well as to the Jewish world by his translation of Chayyug's grammatical treatises into Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> An impulse was given to the study of Hebrew grammar, which was continued during the succeeding centuries through men like the Kimchis (and others) among the Jews, and Reuchlin (especially) among the Christians. The latter (Reuchlin) connected the Reformation of the sixteenth century with the best Hebrew scholarship of the centuries immediately preceding. Through him the grammatical results arrived at by Hebraists like Chayyug, Ib. Ch., the Kimchis, and others, were made available for Luther and the other scholars of the Reformation. In this way the accurate interpretation of Holy Scripture—which formed the foundation of the work undertaken by the Reformers—was rendered unspeakably more easy than it would otherwise have been. Accordingly, Ib. Ch. has a place of honour among the scholars who prepared the way for the Reformation. The theologians of the Reformation could not use his exegetical works as they used the commentaries of men like Raschi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi, because these works were already lost. Even if they had survived it is doubtful if they would have been of great value for the special work the Reformers had in hand. But his grammatical work rendered important service to those who desired to reach the exact meaning of the O.T. text, and this remains to us. GEO. G. CAMERON.

**Santa Teresa : an Appreciation, with some of the best passages of the Saint's Writings.**

*Selected, Adapted and Arranged by Alexander Whyte, D.D.  
Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 81.  
Price 2s.*

THIS is an attractively got up little book of the sort that we are now pretty well accustomed to get from Dr Whyte. It will no doubt serve to introduce to a considerable number of English readers the Spanish lady who has been enshrined by the Roman Catholic Church among her saints under the name of Santa Teresa. Probably such readers, with very few exceptions, will be more than satisfied with what is here supplied, and will have no wish awakened within them to prosecute their studies by undertaking to read in detail any of the Saint's own writings, or any of the more lengthy and credulous accounts of her wonderful life. Dr Whyte, notwithstanding his unbounded appreciation of her character and genius, lets quite enough escape his lips to pre-

<sup>1</sup> An English translation of this work of Ib. Ch.'s appeared in London in 1870 (Nutt).

vent his enthusiasm becoming contagious. It would, however, be a pity if the praise lavished upon her in this *Appreciation* and *Introduction* should cause readers to turn away altogether from the story and writings of this Spanish mystic. If we do not get much that is forcible or fresh in Teresa's writings, there are many not unfamiliar thoughts pleasantly and sweetly uttered.

Dr Whyte takes pains to show that he was not the first who was fascinated by what he calls "her sheer power of mind" and "her powerful understanding." Those who confess to have fallen under her spell are described as the highest in learning and rank and godliness, great and learned theologians, responsible church leaders, and even the secret inquisitors. It would seem that for one who fails to grow enthusiastic over Teresa and her writings there is left only a very humble place, which it might be unsafe or unkind more particularly to define. For such, however, there may be some consolation, or at least something that may save them from losing all self-respect, in the reflection that sweet as the Saint's words seem to have been, inquisitors read them, felt the spell of them, and went back to the work of the inquisition. Few probably will agree with Dr Whyte in characterising Vaughan's account of Teresa as an "indecent and disgraceful attack," "a contemptuous and malicious caricature," an "extravagant misrepresentation." Those who are now sent back to read the chapter in the *Hours with the Mystics* will probably have their confidence in Vaughan's competence and sobriety largely confirmed.

The point at which most readers, and surely all careful students of the extravagances of mysticism, will be inclined to enter their protest and part company with Dr Whyte is his *Appreciation* of the locutions and visions of Teresa. Notwithstanding the threat that he will leave all who do not agree with him, and that he will call their seat the seat of the scorner, some may be bold enough to say that they prefer to account for those extraordinary manifestations in a simpler and more natural way. Zöckler, the author of able and much appreciated treatises on the Monkish Counter Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century, contributes a very full and informing article on Teresa to Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*<sup>2</sup> (xv., 313-328). He tells of a serious and long-continued illness from which she suffered in her twentieth year at the beginning of her conventual life, and of the mismanagement of the ignorant women and the cruelty of certain physicians which brought her to the gates of death. For four days she lay helpless in a sort of spasm, wholly unconscious, so that she did not feel burning wax when it was laid on her skin. Even when she returned to the convent she was coiled up like a ball, could only use one finger of the right hand, was carried in a linen cloth since the

slightest movement was torture, and three years passed before the worst features of her malady disappeared. A stomachic weakness, with fits of vomiting every evening, continued to afflict her to the end of her days. No one can read such a story as this without seeing that we have here what we may call a psycho-physical basis for all the wonderful manifestations which this nun of a hysterical tendency, with a debilitated body and shattered nerves, made herself believe that she so often saw. Without taking his seat in the chair of the scorner, one may be allowed, perhaps, to suggest that the explanation lies in this direction. We may heartily agree, again, with Dr Whyte in saying: "I had rather believe every syllable of Teresa's so-staggering locutions and visions than to be left to this, that since Paul and John went home to heaven our Lord's greatest promises have been so many idle words." But our faith in these promises rests on another basis, because we believe those promises to be of a very different kind and to refer to very different manifestations from those seen by Teresa. And so we cannot agree with Dr Whyte when he says: "I am driven in sheer desperation to believe such testimonies and attainments as those of Teresa, if only to support my failing faith in the words of my Master."

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### **The Expositor's Greek Testament.**

*Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Volume I.:*

1. *The Synoptic Gospels. By the Rev. Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics, Free Church College, Glasgow.* 2. *The Gospel of St John. By the Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Royal 8vo, pp. viii. 872. Price, 28s.; subscription price of Vols. I. and II., 30s.

### **A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon.**

*By Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xlv. 201. Price, 8s. 6d.

### **A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians.**

*By Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Litt., formerly Professor of Biblical Greek, now of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. lxxv. 315. Price, 10s. 6d.

THESE three volumes, which have been given to the public in close succession, make a material addition to our exegetical literature.

The first inaugurates an undertaking which promises to be of the utmost service to students and to a busy, working clergy. The other two are further instalments of the *International Critical Commentary*, a series which has already established itself in general favour. The first has the advantage of the experienced editorship of Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, which is itself a guarantee of its success. The others have the benefit of the careful superintendence of the Master of University College, Durham, and Professor Briggs. The objects of these two enterprises are by no means the same, nor do they follow quite the same methods. But it may be said at once of them that, so far as they have yet gone, they have been efficiently conducted, and that in some of their sections they have given us work of unusual merit. These three volumes will make their way into a large circulation. They will rank with the best of their kind, and will be acknowledged to answer admirably to the purposes they have severally in view. In these able, learned, and carefully constructed commentaries we have fresh proof of the thoroughness of English scholarship, and of the ability of British and American theologians to hold their own with the most accomplished students of Germany, France, or Holland in the wide field of New Testament exegesis.

The first thing that strikes one when he takes up the volume on the *Gospels* is the uncommon handsomeness of the book. It is a joy to handle it and look into its pages. It is the very book to lure a student into reading. The form is so superb, the paper so choice and so light, the margins so delightfully broad, the type so clear and so tasteful. The Aberdeen University Press should have a cordial word of praise for this splendid bit of work. But apart from these external recommendations the book has merits both of purpose and of performance, which make it a welcome addition to the many commentaries we already possess. It is to do for this generation what Dean Alford's *Greek Testament* did for a former generation, and no one who remembers what a boon that commentary was when it was first published will think that a small service to attempt. Alford's volumes had nothing in English to compete with them. They introduced a new style of commentary, and came upon the ordinary English student like a revelation. It is scarcely possible to convey to the richly furnished young theologians of the present day any adequate conception of what *Alford* was to their predecessors, or how great has been the debt of a whole generation of clergymen to the book. Nor is it to be dispensed with yet. Experience has proved that it is the kind of commentary that best suits a very large class of students, and to provide something of the same kind for these days is so happy an

idea that one wonders why it was not taken up till now. It will be felt, too, that in most respects this first instalment fulfils the highest expectation. There is one thing in which it seems to us inferior to our former friend. That is in the matter of the criticism of the Text. In nothing was Dean Alford's work more conspicuously in advance of what the English public had been accustomed to than in its Textual criticism. In the *Expositor's Greek Testament* considerable attention is also given to that, and the more important varieties of reading are dealt with in a careful and scholarly way. But in many cases the discussion is too limited, and all through we lack the continuous fulness and orderliness of treatment which in Alford's case made it possible for the student, not only to have an intelligent view of the condition of the text from paragraph to paragraph, but to form his own judgment in cases of difficulty on the basis of a full presentation of evidence. In other respects, however, this new *Alford* is the equal and often the superior of the old. The *Prolegomena* in the latter were admirably done for their time, especially strong in their statements of the historical testimonies to the several books, and most useful for the purposes of the student. Its exegesis also was generally good, by no means of equal value throughout (a thing impossible in the case of so large an undertaking carried out by one hand), but often independent and always representing the best work of others, where it had less of the stamp of first hand exposition. The *Introductions* in the latter are less complete in the exhibition of the historical evidence, but in other things more satisfactory. They show more insight into the genius of the writings, and they pay more attention to questions which were less in Alford's view, especially those of the Higher Criticism. The exegesis of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, too, has some qualities which were either lacking or in less degree in Alford. It makes more use of the ideas of the time in its interpretations of the words and thoughts of the Gospels. It has also a character of its own. The man is felt in the exegesis, and the latter becomes thereby more interesting. This is true of both authors. It is particularly true of Dr Bruce. In all his work the force of his strong personality is felt. His own ideas and convictions express themselves in his comments. This gives a remarkable flavour and an interesting piquancy to his words. Sometimes it makes us question whether what we are getting in these vivid and characteristic expositions is just things as they were in their own time and circumstance, or admirable ideas of Dr Bruce's own, which these things are charmingly made to reflect.

The two scholars to whom this volume has been committed are the very men for the work. Dr Robertson Nicoll could have made no better choice. Each is a master of his subject, and each has

gone into his task *con amore*. The Synoptical Gospels have been Dr Bruce's favourite study. Everyone who knows him will understand him when he tells us how they have "taken a more powerful and abiding hold" of him than any other part of Scripture, and how much he has "learnt from them concerning Christ in the course of these years." It is to their simple, genial, human representation of the Son of Man that he has always been most attracted. Dr Dods, on the other hand, has been most strongly drawn to the deep thought of the Fourth Gospel, and the Johannine picture of the ministry and the words of the Eternal Son, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. He has studied the book and lived with it till he has come to see Christ and life and truth in its supernal light. Each has got his choicest subject, and each gives us of his best.

In each case the literary questions are handled with great precision and with sound judgment. It would be difficult to find anything better of its kind than the summary which Dr Bruce gives of the Synoptic problem, or his characterisation of the different Gospels. Dr Bruce, we notice, while he gives a cordial welcome to works like Resch's on *Extra-canonical Parallel Texts to the Gospels*, is not very hopeful that much will result from them. He gives the case between Weiss and Wendt on the relation between the two sources in Matthew and Luke, without giving any expression of his own opinion. There are other things which he passes by with small remark, and some for which much importance is often claimed that he makes little of. His main interest is in the question of the historical trustworthiness of the Synoptical records. On this his statement is particularly strong, and it is made all the more convincing by his criticisms of the position of extremists like Brandt. But, while he puts the case for the historicity of these narratives with great power, he is careful not to identify it with the question of literal accuracy or perfect agreement between parallel accounts, and he has a fine scorn for Harmonistic—"a well-meant discipline," as he admits, but engaged with an insoluble problem, and thinking too highly "of the importance of a solution, even if it had been possible."

Nor would it be easy for the student to lay his hand on a better statement of the Johannine problem than is given us here by Dr Dods. The gravity of the question is fully recognised. Dr Dods knows how high an estimate is made of the Fourth Gospel by many critics who do not accept the apostolic authorship. He knows how men like Weizsäcker, Holtzmann and Schürer would persuade us that its value (and they hold it to be a great value) lies in its being a witness to the faith of the Church of the first half of the second century, in its being a "mirror of the times in which the



writer lived, and of the experiences through which the Church had reached that period," in its "expression of the conviction that in Jesus Christ God revealed himself," and not in its historical narrative. But Dr Dods sees otherwise. The Fourth Gospel, he readily admits, must have a certain value, whoever wrote it, and at whatsoever date. But he sees that if it is not a historical record, but only a reflex of the life of the Church of the second century, "given in terms of the life of Christ," it may be a "very interesting document, but not a document on which we can build our knowledge of our Lord," rather one which has been the means of bringing the Church into serious error regarding its Founder. It is in view of this issue that Dr Dods enters upon his inquiry, and in sobriety, definiteness and courage his estimate of the case is worthy of it.

There are things which seem to us open to criticism. That is inevitable. We think Dr Bruce makes too much of what he calls the "editorial solicitude" in Luke's Gospel, the evangelist's tendency to "enhance," to "magnify the miracle," and improve on facts. For most of the instances on which this is made to rest a simpler explanation may be found. The parts of Dr Bruce's work which will seem least satisfactory to many are those in which he has to deal with words with less or more theological meaning, "the Son of Man," the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, and the like. But these are things only of incidental moment. In both its parts this first volume of the *Expositor's Greek Testament* is a work worthy of the most cordial appreciation.

The additions recently made to the *International Critical Commentary* by Dr Marvin Vincent and Dr T. K. Abbott, representatives respectively of American and of Irish scholarship, also deserve hearty recognition. They are important contributions to the study of Epistles which are of undying interest, but which have been so often and so ably expounded that it must seem difficult to say anything very fresh or very distinctive upon them. These two volumes, however, have their own character, and will secure their own place in the long line of similar performances. They are both thoroughly independent studies, and will both add something to our understanding of these writings. The exegetical notes in both cases are such as only good grammarians could write. They are also concise in style, and seldom fail to touch the quick of the question. Textual matters are carefully considered by both writers, with particular distinction by Dr Abbott. In each, and especially in Dr Vincent's work, there is abundant use of pertinent illustrative matter. In the case of the Epistle to the Philippians, for example, the various facts in the history of Macedonia and in



that of Philippi itself which have any bearing on the statements of the Epistle, or on the situation represented in it, are brought within our view. In the case of the Epistle to the Colossians, everything that can shed light upon the heresy in question, or explain the position of the Church, is made use of. Matters that cannot be sufficiently handled in the form of notes are discussed at greater length in the form of an excursus. Dr Vincent gives us in this way a very full statement on the question of "Bishops and Deacons" as suggested by Philippians i. 1. Some fifteen pages are given to this, and the result reached is that the bishop's office was originally "not spiritual but administrative," that he had a "local function in a particular community," but that we have not the materials to define very clearly "the precise range and action of this function." Another excursus is occupied with a very careful examination of the great Christological paragraph in Phil. ii. In this Dr Vincent comes to the conclusion that Paul cannot be committed there to "any precise theological statement of the limitations of Christ's humanity"; that the phrase *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* finds its best definition in the words which follow it descriptive of the incidents of Christ's humanity; and that it does not indicate a "surrender of deity, nor a paralysis of deity, nor a change of personality, nor a break in the continuity of self-consciousness." It may be further said of Dr Vincent's book that it gives much attention to the exposition of Paul's *thought*, and is often very successful in this.

Dr Abbott's commentary is a strong book, with a certain marked individuality. Its most distinctive feature probably is its treatment of the text. Dr Abbott is a trained textual critic, and in everything belonging to the state of the text of the two Epistles which he expounds his work will at once take a foremost place. We have nothing better to point to in this direction, nothing that bears more distinctly the stamp of the expert. It is in this line that the book makes its most special contribution. But Dr Abbott is also a master of vocabulary and style, and a competent and independent exegete. As excellent examples of his exegetical faculty we might point to his exposition of such passages as Eph. iii. 14-21; Col. i. 15; ii. 14, 15. Where it seems to us to come short is in its treatment of some of the more distinctively Pauline ideas. Here it is less frankly faithful than Meyer's to the plain historical sense, and betrays a disposition to explain away or tone down those statements in the Epistle to the Ephesians which form the basis of the Calvinistic system of doctrine. There is much that deserves consideration in Dr Abbott's handling of the literary and historical problems. In matters of internal evidence he shows much of the spirit and

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the method of Paley, and speaks in an appreciative way of the *Horae Paulinae*. His discussions of the character of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the circle of readers, and the claims of the local designation "in Ephesus" to form part of the inscription, are models of clear and balanced statement. Nor is he less satisfactory in dealing with the objections taken to the genuineness of the Epistle. He has a happy way of dealing with these, not merely in detail, but in the light of larger literary considerations. Dr Abbott has his own way of looking at things. He has thought out the great questions which are raised by these Epistles, and has good reasons to offer for the opinions he gives. All is done in a clear and easy style, and with a point and precision which will make his Commentary one that the student will consult with satisfaction.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded.**

*By Dr A. Dillmann, late Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the last edition by Wm. B. Stevenson, B.D., assistant to the Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh University. In 2 volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. 413, 507. Price, 21s.*

AMONGST the numerous services rendered by Messrs Clark to English-speaking students of the Old Testament, none will be more highly appreciated than their publishing of a translation of Dillmann's *Genesis*. We expect of an Old Testament commentator nowadays that he be a thorough linguist, a skilled exegete, and that he have an acquaintance with the latest results of archaeological research. All these requirements are met by Dillmann, whose *Genesis* has been declared by Professor Budde to be "the most perfect form of the *Commentarius perpetuus*," and by Professor A. B. Davidson to be "without doubt the fullest and best informed work on the Book of Genesis that exists." It is a commentary which literally, and not merely by a figure of speech, is indispensable to every Old Testament student.

We need not use space to describe Dillmann's critical standpoint. While the "sources" he recognises are the same as those of other critics, he differs from not a few in assigning to E the priority in time over J, and differs materially from the school of Wellhausen regarding the relative dates of the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Codes. The method followed in the work before us is, first, to divide the material into large sections. Of these there are five. I. The Primitive History from the Creation to the Flood. II. The History of Noah and his Descendants down to Abraham. III. The History of Abraham. IV. The History of

Isaac. V. The History of Jacob. Each of these sections is then broken up into the appropriate sub-sections, which are first discussed in general, and then taken up verse by verse. The arrangement in the translation deserves special praise. Even the most zealous student must at times have felt it wearisome work to make his way through the closely-packed, unbroken pages of the original. We can now see clearly that we have before us a perfect mine of linguistic and archaeological information. Assyriology, Egyptology, Natural Science, Geographical research are all pressed into the service; and the copious references to authorities (wisely relegated to foot-notes) enable the student to prosecute further researches, and to form an independent judgment. And amidst it all the acute and generally convincing exegesis of our author never fails to make itself conspicuous. The utility of the work is enhanced by the carefully prepared Indexes (English and Hebrew) and the Lexical Lists showing the linguistic usage of P, E and J (we agree with the translator that this nomenclature had better have been substituted for Dillmann's A, B, C) respectively.

Mr Stevenson is to be congratulated on having given us a translation which is not merely accurate (that is a matter of course), but reads with an ease to which, until lately, we were little accustomed in works of this kind. It is safe to predict that these two handsome volumes will speedily be recognised as *the* commentary on Genesis. It is a worthy counterpart to Driver's *Deuteronomy*.

J. A. SELBIE.

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### Notices.

MR OTTLEY'S *Bampton Lectures for 1897*<sup>1</sup> make a large volume. It would not be difficult to show that at certain points they might have been condensed with advantage. But we should be slow to quarrel with them for that. Their merits far outweigh deficiencies in form, proportion, or method of reasoning which may be discovered in them. They carry us pleasantly along, and say many good and helpful things in admirable style. They have also the great recommendation of opportuneness. They address themselves to a question of anxious moment to many earnest minds, and they face that question fairly, courageously, and in a liberal spirit. They show a special and most proper regard for the large class of persons whose faith is disquieted by the change from the traditional view of the Old Testament. But they keep also in view those who are

<sup>1</sup> Aspects of the Old Testament considered in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. By Robert Lawrence Ottley, M.A., &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xix. 448. Price, 16s.

tempted to belittle the importance of the critical movement, and the extremists who will allow nothing but contradiction between the new ideas and the old faith of High Churchmen like the author. They do not profess to do more than "illustrate" a view of the Old Testament, which the writer believes to furnish a true *via media* at the present juncture. But in dealing with certain "aspects" of the Old Testament they touch the essential points of difficulty in the adjustment of the ancient faith in the authority of the Old Testament to the critical view of its origin and history.

Mr Ottley is wise enough to recognise how futile it is to look at things otherwise than they are, or to think of going back to the position of a century ago. He is not blind to the extravagances and mistakes into which criticism, in some of its schools and at the hand of some of its masters, has fallen. But he frankly acknowledges that there is a substantial modification of the "traditional theory of Hebrew history and religion," which cannot be ignored, and he claims that the criticism of the last 150 years has yielded certain broad results which are of far-reaching consequence. He admits the parabolic character of sections of the Old Testament which have been regarded by most as pure narrative, the existence of mythic elements and moral imperfections, and the operation of methods of constructing history which are strange to the modern mind. And in face of this he contends that the authority and the religious function of the Old Testament remain what they were, only enlarged.

When a former Principal of Pusey House makes these concessions, and admits further that the Book of Daniel was "apparently composed as a manual of consolation for the confessors and martyrs of the Maccabean period," we see how far we have travelled since the Oxford Movement was at its height. But, if Mr Ottley's book is a sign of the times, it is a book that should disarm fear and help faith. It plants our feet firmly upon the broad foundation of the historical view of Revelation, and shows with power what is involved in the idea of a fragmentary and progressive Revelation. It is apt perhaps to press certain lines of argument too far. It does so, we think, in the analogy which it draws out between the Incarnate Word and Scripture. But it says many fit and beautiful things about the religious use of the Hebrew records, especially the Psalter, and it vindicates in a noble way the permanent function of the Old Testament in revealing God, preparing for the Christ who was to come, bearing witness to the Divine Government and its laws, furthering individual and social righteousness, and helping us to understand the New Testament. Mr Ottley has done a great and timely service to a free and well-established faith.

Professor S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*<sup>1</sup> has reached its sixth English edition—a distinction rarely attained in so brief a space of time by a theological treatise, and most remarkable in the case of a book dealing with the most complicated questions of Old Testament criticism with the precision and unadorned definiteness of scientific scholarship. It took at once the first place among English books of its kind and it continues to hold it in virtue of its solid merits, the reliableness of its statements, the caution of its judgments, and the pains with which it is kept abreast of all that is done in its province. The present edition may be regarded as a new book. There has been a thorough revision in the light of the most recent contributions to the study of the Old Testament books, the work has been entirely re-set, and considerable additions have been made to the matter. In a new Preface, Dr Driver has much to say on the progress of critical opinion and the bearings of archaeological research that will be read with interest.

It is a pleasure to welcome Professor Orr's *Kerr Lectures*<sup>2</sup> in their third edition. It is a most gratifying success, and it is entirely due to the merits of the work. The book has steadily won its way by the command of its subject which it shows on every page, the largeness and trustworthiness of its acquaintance with the literature of its theme, the precision of its statements, the fairness of its criticism, and the vigour of its style. It has established itself in general esteem as one of the best books that have been produced by Scottish theologians in recent years, and one of the most satisfactory contributions to Christian Apologetics. It has given real help to many minds, and it will continue to do so.

We are glad to receive from the same hand a volume on *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*,<sup>3</sup> being the latest addition to the *Theological Educator* series. Few British theologians have studied the theology of Ritschl, whether as it appears in Ritschl's own writings, or as it has been modified in various directions in those of his disciples, with the care, the patience, and the critical faculty with which Dr Orr has approached it. His volume is not a large one, but it is packed with matter, and it embodies the well-considered results of careful and extensive reading. It is the best English book we have on its subject. Nothing is left un-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xx. xi. 577. Price, 12s.

<sup>2</sup> The Christian View of God and the World as centring in the Incarnation. By James Orr, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 480. Price, 7s 6d.

<sup>3</sup> By James Orr, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xii. 216. Price, 2s. 6d.

noticed that is necessary to a proper appreciation of this influential school of theology. We get all that it concerns us to know about Ritschl himself, his mental development, the influences under which he came, the changes in his position, and the way in which his system was thought out. His theory of knowledge, his general idea of the Christian religion, his theological method, his view of Scripture, his attitude to the special Christian doctrines, the agreements and divergencies of Kaftan, Herrmann, Schultz, and other disciples, and the relation of the whole type of theology to the evangelical faith, are all stated with the precision of one who knows what he is dealing with. The importance of this theology and its attractive points are fully recognised. In one thing we should be disposed to differ from Dr Orr's general estimate of Ritschl's worth. We should allow much less value to his exegetical work. It is there indeed that he is weakest. Dr Orr's judgment, however, of the system as a whole is unmistakable. It is distinctly and definitely adverse, and the criticisms which he directs against it touch its essential positions. These criticisms no doubt may seem to the most pronounced Ritschlians to be lacking in sympathy. But their ability will not be denied. They have to be reckoned with, and they are nowhere more successful than in bringing out the inconsistencies of Ritschl's own system.

Under the title of *The Return to the Cross*,<sup>1</sup> Dr Robertson Nicoll publishes a series of papers which have a serious purpose, and come opportunely. Many readers will be familiar with most of them in another form. They will be glad, however, to have them as they are now brought together in this attractive volume. They have, it needs scarce be said, all the charm of Dr Nicoll's clear and practised style. They have also the special interest of giving the views of one who has a wide outlook and large opportunities of seeing into the condition of things as regards the religious temper of our day, and the work of the Churches. They travel over a considerable variety of subjects, from the profound experiences of grace to criticisms of Walter Pater and refutations of Goldwin Smith. But there is one spirit in them all, and they have one general purpose. They are a recall to the evangelical faith, a vindication of the type of religion in which the strength of the older generation lay, and which time after time has made the Church a conquering spiritual power. The opening paper, originally an address to the students of the Theological College, Bala, on "The Secret of Christian Experience," is meant to show that the things of which books like Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* bear witness still belong, and cannot but belong, to "a genuine and normal Christian experience." And the papers which follow contribute each in its

<sup>1</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 320. Price, 3s. 6d.



own way to commend the power and beauty of the Evangelical faith, with its strong grasp of what is meant by sin, grace, justification, atonement. The book should have the earnest attention of all whose desire is to see the Church fruitful and the pulpit strong.

Dr Joseph Agar Beet issues a volume on *The Last Things*,<sup>1</sup> founded in part on a number of articles contributed to *The Expositor*. It is occupied with two great subjects, the Second Coming of Christ and the Future Punishment of Sin. Both questions are examined in a sober and devout spirit, with all due deliberation, and with a sincere loyalty to the witness of the Word of God. In each case the main thing is the full and painstaking discussion of the relevant passages of Scripture. Dr Beet's exegesis is always careful and often convincing. Where it fails is in limiting itself too much to a verbal exegesis, without sufficient regard to the ideas presupposed in the New Testament. In dealing with the first of the two subjects Dr Beet follows the usual lines of argument (some of which, however, are made much less cogent than before by the changed view of Prophecy), by which the pre-millennial theory is met. The interest of the book lies more in the second question, and in it Dr Beet's position is not very determinate. On the one hand, he affirms in the strongest terms that the New Testament teaches the future punishment of sin, and that its writers "see no end" of that punishment, "nor do they teach anything which logically implies or even suggests that it will ever end." On the other hand, he holds that they do not go so far as to "assert expressly and indisputably the endless permanence of those ruined and wretched ones." This being the case, he appears to incline to some such position as that stated by Dr Clemance, viz., that "in Scripture the duration of future punishment is left indefinite," and that a possibility is left open that "the lost may sink into unconsciousness." He acknowledges, however, in the fullest sense of the term, that "final exclusion is plainly asserted by Christ and His Apostles" for the persistently wicked, and that the emphasis of the New Testament doctrine is thrown upon the moral decisions of the present life. The essence of the matter is there.

Among the various systems of theology which we owe to American theologians, a high place belongs to Professor Gerhart's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.<sup>2</sup> The author, who has long held an

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 318. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> By Emmanuel V. Gerhart, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xxvii. 754 and xxvi. 938.



honoured position as a Professor of Theology, belongs to the Reformed Church, and in matters of creed stands upon the platform of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. He writes in a catholic spirit, appreciating the work of Christian thinkers of all schools from Clement and Origen onward. He confesses a special regard for the great ideas of Augustin and Calvin, but declines to be in bondage to these or any of the other great masters in Theology, and claims the freedom of thought as well as the freedom of faith of which the Reformation of the sixteenth century made us heirs. His treatise is a very large one. It consists of two great volumes, which give evidence in every chapter of wide and laborious reading. It is introduced by a sympathetic Preface from the hand of the late Philip Schaff. It recognises the value of the "Christological trend of Christian sentiment and scholarship of our age," and offers itself to the public as "an earnest effort to make answer to the call for a doctrinal system in which Jesus Christ stands as the central truth; not only as the instrument of redemption and salvation, but also as the beginning and the end of revelation." It follows, therefore, the Christo-centric method. But, while it does this, it has the peculiarity of postponing the topic of Christology to a late point in its discussions. Its plan is this. It begins with a statement on the *Source of Theological Knowledge*, in which it expounds the theory of the Evangelical Protestant Church, and criticises the defective theories of Romanism, Rationalism, and Mysticism. The most interesting portions of this first Book are those dealing with the Objective Source (which is found in Christ Glorified) and with the Source in the Christian Consciousness, Christ in the believer being taken as the vital Principle of Divine Knowledge and Christ in the New Testament as the Norm of Christian Consciousness. The second Book is devoted to a statement of the *Christ-idea, or the Principle of Christian Doctrine*. Then follow seven books, which treat successively of Theology, or the Doctrine on God; Cosmology, or the Doctrine on Creation and Providence; Anthropology, or Doctrine on the Adamic Race; Christology, or Doctrine on Jesus Christ; Pneumatology, or Doctrine on the Holy Spirit; Soteriology, or the Doctrine on Personal Salvation; Eschatology, or Doctrine on the Last Things. The order is peculiar, and the arrangement of particular subjects seems strange in some cases. This however is a subordinate matter. The questions assigned to each book are handled with remarkable clearness and completeness, all due attention being given at once to the great creeds and to the results of the improved exegesis of our own time. The volumes are honourable to American scholarship, and furnish an admirable example of the good work done in Theology by the Reformed Church of the United States.

The treatise on *Homiletik* by the late Dr Theodor Christlieb, of Bonn, so well known by his able and interesting volume on *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, has had an excellent reception in Germany. Its merits have been already recognised in the pages of this Journal.<sup>1</sup> It is the work of one who, both by his success as a Professor of Theology and by his experience as a University preacher, had peculiar qualifications for such a task. It is full of good counsel and, though the style is by no means easy, it is far removed from being a dull book. An English translation has been needed, and we are glad to have it now from the hand of one who is not a stranger to such work—the translator of Huther's *Epistles of St John* in Meyer's Commentary.<sup>2</sup>

It is now about a quarter of a century since Mr Girdlestone's *Synonyms of the Old Testament* appeared. After that long lapse of time a second edition<sup>3</sup> is issued. In the preparation of the first edition the author used, together with the various versions of the Scriptures themselves, mostly the dictionaries and concordances that were then available—Buxtorf, Trommius, Kircher, Bruder, Fürst, Wilson, &c. Beyond these he did not venture far. He has followed substantially the same method in this new edition. No notice is taken of what criticism has been doing all the time, neither is there anything to show that the great commentaries of recent times and the systems of Old Testament Theology, with the rich material which they provide for the study of words, have been consulted. The book, therefore, lacks the precision and the scientific method of the great Old Testament scholars of our time. One has only to glance into the discussions of such terms, *e.g.*, as *El Shaddai*, to see how deficient it is in the historical treatment of its matter. It limits itself expressly, however, to the particular question of the bearing of the synonyms on Christian doctrine. On this it has often something that is to the point. It furnishes also a large amount of matter, laboriously collected, which will be of interest to certain classes of readers.

Under the title of *The Revel and the Battle, and other Sermons*,<sup>4</sup> the Bishop of Southwell publishes a series of pulpit discourses, which are not of the conventional pattern. Most of them have

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. vi. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Homiletic Lectures on Preaching*. By Theodor Christlieb, D.D. Edited by Th. Haarbeck. Translated by Rev. C. H. Irwin, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 390. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *Synonyms of the Old Testament: Their bearing on Christian Doctrine. Second Edition*. By the Rev. Robert Baker Girdlestone, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, late Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xiv. 346. Price, 12s.

<sup>4</sup> By George Ridding, D.D., Bishop of Southwell. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 340. Price, 6s.

been preached on special occasions, before the University of Oxford, the British Association, the Co-operative Congress, the British Medical Association, &c. They are full of life and spirit, and are written in telling, often ringing terms. Some of them are of a striking order. Among such we may refer to those on "The Danger of Young Self-Absorption," "Stability and Instability of Mind," "The Complexity of the World." But why does the Bishop disfigure his book by ignorant or prejudiced representations of other systems of Theology than his own, as when he says that "one of the true changes in teaching is that other-worldliness is not exaggerated to the Calvinist degree of making hell-fire the motive for rectitude"?

*The Kingdom of Manhood*<sup>1</sup> is a book of wise counsel specially for young men, though not for them only. It is written in a lively, interesting, and sometimes touching style. It deals briefly and pointedly with such subjects as Ideals, Talents, Enthusiasm, Environment, Sympathy, &c. There are chapters, such as those on "Looking Forward," "High Failure," "Now—and After," which might be singled out as particularly suggestive and impressive. But the whole volume makes pleasant and profitable reading, and should both interest and help those for whom it is specially written.

In 1893, Professor Gwatkin published a series of *Selections from Early Writers, illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*. The volume has been found of great service to students, the passages being admirably chosen and carefully edited. It is now reprinted, with additions and corrections which will make it still more valuable.<sup>2</sup> Both text and translation are given for each extract. The Introductory Notes, too, are precisely what the student requires, giving much useful information in the most concise form.

In the spring of 1896, the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, delivered the course of Students' Lectures on Missions at Princeton Theological Seminary. These Lectures form the basis of a large treatise, of which the first volume is now published, and to which the title *Christian Missions and Social Progress*<sup>3</sup> is given. What is aimed at is a Sociological Study of Foreign Missions, and for an undertaking of that kind

<sup>1</sup> By Horace G. Groser. London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, 250. Price, 8s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> By Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 194. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> In two volumes, Vol. i. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. xvi. 468. Price, 10s. 6d.

Dr Dennis, who has already written a volume on *Foreign Missions after a Century*, has some considerable qualifications. He has read extensively on the subject and has been at pains to obtain his information on many important aspects of the question by direct communication with men in a position to furnish it in a reliable form. More than three hundred missionaries, of different Churches and connections and in many different lands, have been consulted. The result is that in this book we have a kind of Encyclopedia of Missions on the Sociological side. It is a mine of matter. But it also states important conclusions which the facts are held to suggest. The apologetic import of the investigation, the estimate which should be formed of ethnic religions, the place of the supernatural in a true theory of social evolution, and the "need of a deeper world-consciousness" in Christianity, are among the questions raised and answered by the inquiry. The book is provided also with numerous illustrations, and good bibliographies. It is an argument for the "benign energy and unexampled precision" with which Christian Missions have worked in "the production of the best civilisation we have yet seen in the history of mankind."

Under the title of *A Kirk and a College in the Craigs*,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. D. D. Ormond, F.S.A., Scot., gives an account of an old Cameronian congregation in Stirling and the provision made there for the training of Divinity students. The volume is a very dainty one in type and in form generally, and has a series of tasteful illustrations. It is a good example of the "local history." The original documents have been consulted, and interesting glimpses are given of old ways in the "City of the Rock," and of the ecclesiastical life of a by-gone time.

Professor R. M. Wenley, of the University of Michigan, publishes an *Outline Introductory to Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason."*<sup>2</sup> It explains the genesis of Kant's great work, states its problem, and gives an account of the contents of the book, dealing successively with the Transcendental Æsthetic, the Transcendental Analytic, and the Transcendental Dialectic. A list of books and an explanation of terms are added. The author's object is to prepare students for the first hand study of a classical text by giving them a general conspectus of its contents. The idea is a happy one, and it has been very successfully carried out. The theological student, no less than the philosophical, will read with interest the summaries of the *Antinomies*, the criticism of the Theistic arguments, &c.

M. Auguste Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion* appears now in an authorised English translation by the Rev. T. A.

<sup>1</sup> Stirling : *Journal and Advertiser Office*, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 117 and Index.

<sup>2</sup> New York : Henry Holt & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 95.

Seed.<sup>1</sup> The translation is well done and preserves much of the style and flavour of the original. The book has already been reviewed in these pages.<sup>2</sup> It is enough to say of it, therefore, that it is an original and suggestive book. It deals in succession with Religion, its origin, nature, &c.; Christianity, its origin in Hebraism, its essence, its historical forms; and Dogma, its definition, its life, the science of dogmas, the critical theory of religious knowledge, &c. There is much in the book from which we must dissent; especially in its general treatment of miracle and the supernatural, and in its statement of the essence of Christianity, in which, with the view of commending the Christian religion to a generation baptised in science, it makes concessions and introduces limitations that will seem to many to threaten the existence of that which it seeks to conserve. It is to be judged, however, from the apologetic standpoint, and as a series of stimulating chapters rather than as a systematic treatise, and it has the undoubted merit of placing old things in new lights.

The Messrs Macmillan have begun the issue of a new edition of the *Holy Bible* in the style of their well-known and much appreciated *Eversley* series. It is to be completed in eight volumes, of which three are now before us.<sup>3</sup> It makes a beautiful book, and does for the Authorised Version in a well-considered and consistent way what has been occurring with it in a fragmentary, incidental, and less reasonable way almost from the beginning. The object is to present the Authorised Version in its best fashion to readers of the present day by remodelling its text, and giving it, as far as is consistent with loyalty to its genius, the form in which literature comes to us now. This is done with admirable judgment. The modernising process is carried through in good taste, and in a perfectly considerate and reverent spirit. The division into verses, which is not found in any English Bible before 1560, is dropped. Marks of quotation are introduced, inconsistencies and disturbing archaisms in spelling are removed, irregularities and mistakes in punctuation are corrected, and all is done that is necessary now to the intelligent and enjoyable reading of the ancient version. Mr Mackail contributes also an Introduction full of valuable matter, in which his good taste and his just idea of the requirements of the case are no less conspicuous than his

<sup>1</sup> *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based on Psychology and History.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vii. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: To which is prefixed an Introduction by J. W. Mackail.* Vol. i., Genesis to Numbers, pp. xxix. 513; Vol. ii., Deuteronomy to 2 Samuel, pp. 459; Vol. iii., 1 Kings to Esther, pp. 477. 1897. Cr. 8vo. Price, 5s. each volume.

easy mastery of the history of the subject. In his hands the cause is safe.

We have received the eighth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> containing a large variety of careful and instructive papers by Professors G. G. Findlay and A. S. Geden, the Rev. Messrs T. G. Selby, W. Spiers, J. Hope Moulton, J. T. L. Maggs, J. Robinson Gregory, and other experienced writers—a well managed magazine, from which preachers and teachers will get much to help them; *Lessons from Life*,<sup>2</sup> a compendium of facts, not all indeed of equal scientific value, but all of more or less interest, taken from the world of living creatures, and capable of being applied to the illustration of moral truths—a large collection well arranged, furnished with good classified indexes, and meeting in a very handy way the practical needs of teachers, especially those concerned with ethical subjects; another addition to the very tasteful *Books for the Heart* series, edited by Alexander Smellie, M.A., viz., a handy edition of Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*,<sup>3</sup> beautifully printed, furnished with an excellent Introduction, and in every way attractive; a second edition of the Rev. N. Dimock's careful and candid treatise on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*,<sup>4</sup> enlarged by an important Introduction on the Decree of Eugenius IV., *Exultate Deo*, and the history of the Council of Florence, and by other additions; a volume on *The Ten Commandments*,<sup>5</sup> by the Rev. George Jackson, B.A., of the Methodist Mission, Edinburgh, with the direct and vigorous note of one who is at home in the pulpit, marked all through by good sense and practical Christian purpose, certain to edify and instruct; a small volume by the Rev. F. Warburton Lewis, B.A., on *Jesus Son of God*,<sup>6</sup> in which a modest and devout attempt is made to interpret the consciousness of Jesus, and show what it meant to Himself to claim to be the Son of God; a useful little book by Professor Adeney of New College, London, on *The Construction of the Bible*,<sup>7</sup> giving in clear and simple terms the story of the way in which the several parts of Scripture came to form one volume; a short treatise on *The Teaching of Morality in*

<sup>1</sup> For Preachers, Teachers and Bible Students. Editors, Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory. London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. 580. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> With an Introduction by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv. 527. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 263. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 114. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 191. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 67. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 95. 1s.



*the Family and the School*,<sup>1</sup> forming a volume of *The Ethical Library*, dealing in a practical, sensible, and enlightened way both with the principles of moral teaching and with the subject-matter in "virtuous character" and "social membership"; the third and fourth sections of the sixteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>2</sup> containing the literature on Systematic Theology and Practical Theology, &c., for 1896—a most useful chronicle, remarkable both for its general accuracy and for its completeness; a brightly written sketch of *Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation*,<sup>3</sup> by E. Velvin, in the "Splendid Lives" series; a story with the title of *Battledown Boys or an Enemy Overcome*,<sup>4</sup> manly in tone and well told; the annual volumes of our old and established friends, *Good Words*<sup>5</sup> and *The Sunday Magazine*,<sup>6</sup> neither showing any signs of decaying vigour, but both rich in matter too varied to give here in detail, representing the choice work of many of our best writers, and deserving as cordial a welcome as ever into our homes; the first volume of *The Home Blessing*,<sup>7</sup> a magazine that has begun well, full of healthy matter and excellently illustrated; the sixth volume of *The Silver Tent*,<sup>8</sup> another magazine, intended specially for home and school, and admirably suited to its object; a well written and instructive book on *The Companions of Jesus*,<sup>9</sup> for young people.

A collection of *University and Other Sermons*,<sup>10</sup> by the late Dean of Llandaff, is published, with a Preface by an old friend and pupil. Few men have been so generally esteemed in the English Church, and beyond it, in our day. Few have written so largely, to such profit, and in so admirable a spirit; and few have left behind them a name with which so little is associated but respect and affec-

<sup>1</sup> By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 146. Price, 3s.

<sup>2</sup> Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, Sulze und Dreyer. Braunschweig, Schwetschke, 1897. 8vo, pp. 477-631. Price, M.4; Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, &c. Pp. 633-779. Price, M.7.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 144. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. Small 4to, pp. 239. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by the Very Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D. London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Imp. 8vo, pp. 860. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Imp. 8vo, pp. 856. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. 4to, pp. 239. Price, 2s.

<sup>8</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. 4to, pp. iv. 238. Price, 2s.

<sup>9</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. Small 4to, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>10</sup> By C. J. Vaughan, D.D. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 356. Price, 6s.



tion. Dr Vaughan was an accomplished New Testament scholar, and his contributions to the interpretation of Acts, Romans, Philipians, and the Apocalypse have a distinct value of their own. He was above all a preacher—textual, practical, pointed, evangelical. The volume shows him at his best as a preacher. It is the second series of his University Sermons. It consists largely of discourses reprinted from editions which are rapidly becoming exhausted, or are now no longer in circulation. But it is none the less welcome for that. It contains some of his best and most memorable discourses, such as those delivered in connection with the Indian Mutiny and the death of the Prince Consort; and others, such as those on "The Work Burned, the Workman Saved," "Regrets and Reparations of Human Life," "The Great Decision," &c., which will not be readily forgotten. In all we have the same admirable qualities of simplicity of style, earnestness, sympathy, practical force, and studious fidelity to the historical sense of the passage.

Having had Primers of Wordsworth, Tennyson, and others, we have now a *Primer of the Bible*.<sup>1</sup> It is an attractive book in point of form, and it is a good piece of writing. What it purposes to do is to show, in the light of the best criticism of these days, how the several books which make up our Bible came into being, how they stand to each other in chronological succession and other relations, how they are connected with the history of Israel, Judaism, and the Church, and how they became a collection of Sacred Writings set apart by the Church from all other writings of a religious kind. This is done by Professor Bennett in a way for which many students of Scripture will be grateful. The book is as scientific in the treatment of its subject as it is easy and pleasant to read. It gives a clearer and more scholarly outline of the history of the formation of the Bible than is to be found in any other book of anything like the same dimensions with which we are acquainted.

We are indebted to Mrs Lewis, of Cambridge, for the publication of an interesting *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*,<sup>2</sup> which forms the sixth part of the series known as *Studia Sinaitica*. The manuscript came into Mrs Lewis's possession in 1895, when she was passing through Cairo on her way to Mount Sinai. It was incomplete, the last ten leaves being missing. But it was found to contain Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles. It appears to have been used by the Malkite branch

<sup>1</sup> By W. H. Bennett, M.A., Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature, Hackney Coll., London, &c. London: Methuen & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 228. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis. With Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., and a Glossary by Margaret D. Gibson. London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1897. 4to, pp. cxli. 139. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

of the Syrian Church. Mrs Lewis prefers to speak of the dialect as "Palestinian" rather than "Jerusalem" Syriac, referring to Dalman's supposition that the Jewish Rabbis who fled "from Southern Judaea after the war with Hadrian migrated to Galilee, and thenceforward clothed their writings in a Galilean dress." She also notices the suggestion which has been made that the Lectionary is Egyptian. She admits that there is some probability in that, and points out that, if that is made good, two theories become possible: either that the dialect is not Palestinian nor Galilean at all, which is improbable, or else that there were Christian Syrians who sought refuge in Egypt from Roman oppression, and that "in Egypt service-books were written, the same in tongue, though perhaps differing slightly in form from those of the Malkite Syrians in Palestine. Among the more interesting readings is one in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which corroborates that in D gr., ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς, and so far favours the idea that the verse gives part of an early creed. Professor Nestle furnishes many pages of Critical Notes, which add greatly to the value of the edition; Mrs Gibson has prepared a careful glossary, which will be appreciated by students.

The third volume of Professor Adolf Harnack's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*<sup>1</sup> has gone into its third edition. That is a remarkable testimony to the impression made by the book. The volume deals with the history of the development of the Church's doctrines of sin, grace, and the means of grace, and with the three-fold issue of the dogmatic process in Roman Catholicism, Anti-Unitarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. It gives us, therefore, Dr Harnack's estimates of Augustin's system, the positions of Gregory the Great, Bernard, Anselm, Luther, and other theologians of authority, the Pelagian, Predestinarian, Filioque, and other controversies. In this new edition the discussion of these great subjects has been brought up to date with an industry and a carefulness which may well astonish one. Some fifty monographs and larger treatises relating to the history of Dogma in the Western Church have appeared since the publication of the first edition of this volume. Diligent use has been made of these in the preparation of this issue, and other improvements and corrections have been introduced. In all that is essential, however, the conception and exposition of the Dogmatic process remain the same as before. Dr Harnack writes a new Preface, which is of special interest for the answers he gives to the weightier objections that have been made

<sup>1</sup> Dritter Band. Die Entwicklung des Kirchlichen Dogmas II., III., etc. Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. xxii. 840. Price,—Vol. II., 10s.; Vol. III., 17s.

to his method and his critical principles. The book is one with which all students of Christian doctrine have to reckon, and to which they will have to make frequent appeal. A full Index to the three volumes is appended, which will greatly help us in using this massive contribution to the theological literature of our time. The heavy task of translating the work into English is also being overtaken step by step. The third volume<sup>1</sup> of the English rendering is now before us, the first chapter of which, however, only takes us the length of the last chapter of the first volume of the German original. It carries us on to Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa in the exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and closes with the statement of Western views of Christ's work. The Appendix on Manichaeism is also given. We are glad that the translators have got even this length on their way, much as yet remains to be done.

We have to notice also a further instalment, the sixth, of the important *Lexicon*,<sup>2</sup> in the progress of which all Hebrew scholars rejoice, and for which they owe so much to the learning and the industry of the editors, Professors Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs; a second edition of the first part of the first volume of Moeller's *Kirchengeschichte*<sup>3</sup>—a work of real scholarship and of great practical utility, carefully revised now by Professor Schubert, of Kiel; a careful and intelligent translation of the *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*,<sup>4</sup> with three valuable essays on "The Essential Nature of Sin," "Spirit and Matter," and "The Primary Criterion of Truth," by the Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth, in which the trained theologian will find something to think of, if not to agree with in all points; a volume on *The Expansion of the Christian Life*,<sup>5</sup> being the Duff Lecture for 1897, in which Dr Marshall Lang, of the Barony Parish, Glasgow, expounds with the glow of strong conviction an essential law of the religious life, and states in

<sup>1</sup> History of Dogma. By Dr Adolf Harnack, &c. Translated from the Third Edition of the German by James Millar, B.D. Vol. iii. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 336. Price, 10s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson, &c. Part vi.  $\aleph$ — $\aleph$ . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. 4to, pp. 441-528. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr Wilhelm Moeller, &c. Erster Band. Die alte Kirche. Erste Abtheilung. 2 Auflage. Neubearbeitet von Dr Hans von Schubert, &c. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 272. Price, M. 6.

<sup>4</sup> With a Commendatory Preface by the Very Rev. E. A. Hoffman, S.T.D., LL.D. Albany: Riggs. 8vo, pp. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 246. Price, 5s.

vivid, popular style how this great principle of Expansion first showed itself in the Christian community, how it has worked in Christian thought, in Christian civilisation, and towards the non-Christian religions, and what the missionary activity of the nineteenth century means; *Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*<sup>1</sup>—one of the best, fairest, and most informing statements in brief compass with which we are acquainted on the subject of the Higher Criticism, its problems, its progress, and its defence; a series of Sermons<sup>2</sup> by Dr Joseph M'Cormick, Select Preacher at Oxford, 1895-7, discoursing wisely, reverently, and to edification of some of the great questions, doctrinal and practical, relating to sin; a most welcome translation of a book which has been already noticed in favourable terms in this Journal,<sup>3</sup> Professor Gustav Krüger's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*,<sup>4</sup> in many respects one of the very best of handbooks for a student.

The sixty-fifth number of the *Revue des Études Juives*, published by A. Durlacher, Paris, is full of matter. Considerable attention is given to historical studies. There are contributions, for example, to the history of the Jews in Corfu, a paper on *Les Juifs en Bretagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, notes on the history of the Jews in Spain. Other branches of Jewish lore are also represented. We have, e.g., a study of the term תהלה by M. Lambert, another by Israel Lévy on the Davidic Origin of Hillel, critical notes on the *Pesikta Rabbah* by W. Bacher, etc.

Professor Theodor Häring contributes an interesting article on Melancthon (*Rede zum vierhundertjährigen Geburtstag Philipp Melancthon*) to the fifth Heft of the Seventh Year of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. The same number contains a long article by J. Gottschick on *Paulinismus und Reformation*, in which an able and discriminating account is given of the relations between the Pauline doctrine and the Reformation Theology, the subordinate differences between the Pauline doctrine of Justification and the Lutheran, and the larger harmony between the two on fundamental ideas and practical connections and issues.

In addition to papers of a severer order and a series of admirable

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. Isaac Gibson, Rector of St John's Church, Norriston, P.A. Introduction by the Rev. Willis Hazard, M.A. Philadelphia: Jacobs, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 50 cents. net.

<sup>2</sup> What is Sin? Sermons preached before the University of Oxford. London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 176. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. v. pp. 426.

<sup>4</sup> History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries. By Dr Gustav Krüger, &c. Translated by Rev. Charles R. Gillett, M.A., Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. With Corrections and Additions by the Author. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. xxiii. 409. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

reviews of recent philosophical publications, the *International Journal of Ethics* for October 1897 has several articles of a more popular kind, all of them readable and informing, one by Mr Leslie Stephen on *Nansen*, another by Mr P. E. Matheson on *Citizenship*, and an interesting appreciation of *Professor Jowett* by his successor in the Mastership of Balliol College.

We have received also the third number of the second year of the *Rivista Bibliografica Italiana*, published in Florence under the editorship of Sacc. Dott. S. Minocchi, which contains careful notices of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, xiv. 1, and other books, chiefly Italian; the *American Journal of Philology*, xviii. 1, giving, in addition to various articles of interest to the student of Greek and Latin literature, instructive reviews of Peck's Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, Hopkins's Handbook of *The Religions of India*, etc.; the second *Heft* of the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche*<sup>1</sup> for the present year, in which among other papers of varied interest special reference may be made to those by Professor Gubelmann of Rochester, N.Y., on *The Relation of the Authority of Holy Scripture to the Authority of Christ*, and P. Walter Rauschenbusch on *The Eschatology of the Gospel and Epistles of John and that of the Apocalypse Compared*; further parts of the eighth year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, the seventh *Heft* having an article by Dr Johannes Kunze on a New Egyptian Symbol (referred to also in his *Marcus Eremita*), and the eighth containing among other things a careful historical statement by Pastor O. Undritz of Reval, which traces the development of Luther's doctrine of Scripture from the Leipsic Disputation to the Diet of Worms (April 1519 to April 1521), and his break with Pope, Council, and Church.

### Record of Select Literature.

#### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- BURROWS, Rev. W. O. Second Book of Kings. With Introduction. Notes, and Maps. London: Rivington. 12mo, pp. 146. 1s. 6d.
- LEWIS, Mrs A. S. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 6. A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, etc. Cambridge: University Press. 4to. 12s. 6d. net.
- COWLEY, A. E. and NEUBAUER, Ad. *Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11*. Translated from the Original Hebrew and arranged in Parallel Columns with the English Revised Version of 1895. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xii. 65. 2s. 6d.
- SINKER, R. *Hezekiah and his Age*. London: Eyre. Cr. 8vo, pp. 202. 3s. 6d.

<sup>1</sup> Warrenton, Mo.

- RYLE, Prof. H. E. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with Introduction and Notes. (Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.) Cambridge: University Press. 18mo, pp. 94. 1s.
- DEANE, Rev. W. J., and Others. Ecclesiastes. (The Pulpit Commentary.) New ed. London: Paul, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. 610. 6s.
- BRÜSSELBACH, Pfr. Erklärung Biblischer Altertümer. M.67. Nummern Phototype (2 Taf.). Enth. u. a.: eine Münze v. Pharao, Salomo, Phöniz. Glas Münzen v. Hiram u. a. Tafeln der ersten Christen, deren hebr. Inschriften u. a. m. Waldbröl: Selbstverlag. Lex. 8vo, pp. 7. M.6.
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## The Early History of the Hebrews.

*By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford.*  
*London: Rivingtons, 1897. 8vo, pp. v.-xv., 1-492. Price,*  
*8s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR SAYCE'S last book does not demand a lengthy notice, since the greater part of it consists of matter which has appeared in some of his previous publications, such as *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1893), and *Patriarchal Palestine* (1895). The present work professes to relate the history of the Hebrews from the time of the Patriarchs to that of Solomon. "During the last few years," says the author in the Preface, "discovery after discovery has come crowding upon us from the ancient East, revolutionising all our past conceptions of early Oriental history, and opening out a new and unexpected world of culture and civilisation." The reader will naturally ask, What evidence has Professor Sayce, in consequence of these discoveries, been able to bring forward on the subject of the history of Israel during the period in question?

Unfortunately it must be said that, as to all the main points at issue, the testimony which he has produced amounts to nothing. We possess, it is true, many inscriptions which are far older than the time of Solomon; but, with a single exception, none of these documents contains the faintest allusion to the Israelites. The single exception is an obscure reference in a well-known Egyptian inscription discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie; here Israel figures in a list of foreign nations who are said to have been vanquished by King Menepthah II. (fourteenth century B.C.). According to Professor Sayce, the passage is to be rendered: "The Israelites are spoiled so that they have no seed" (p. 159). This seems sufficiently vague, and what makes the matter worse is that Professor Sayce himself doubts the veracity of the "court-poet" by whom the inscription was composed. "He has skilfully combined the victories of Menepthah with those of his father, and given him the credit of conquests which he had not made" (p. 160). Thus all the *external* testimony as to "the early history of the Hebrews" reduces itself to one doubtful phrase. How, therefore, are we to test the trustworthiness of the Biblical narratives which relate to this period? Are the Patriarchs, for example, to be regarded as real persons? Did the Israelites enter Palestine peace-



ably, or as conquerors? From what quarter did they come, and to what degree of civilisation had they attained at the time of their arrival? These, it will be seen, are questions of fundamental importance, but unhappily Professor Sayce is not able to throw light upon a single one of them. In the absence of all direct evidence—apart from the Old Testament itself—he has recourse to vague arguments from analogy. He concludes, for example, from what is known as to the history of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Canaanites, that certain things are *likely* to have occurred—and, therefore, *did* occur—among the Hebrews. Here he frequently makes a mistake, natural enough in an ordinary European, but altogether inexcusable in an Orientalist, namely, that of ignoring the distinction between the settled peoples and the nomads, and of assuming that the arts and the literary culture which existed among the former must necessarily have existed also among the latter (pp. 121, 122). But if we wish to realise the uncertainty of the results obtained by arguing from the history of the East in general to the history of the Israelites in particular, we have only to compare the conclusions of Professor Sayce with those of another well-known Assyriologist, Dr Hugo Winckler, the editor and translator of the Tell-el-Amarna letters. In 1895 Dr Winckler published a *History of Israel*, and it is remarkable that on almost every important question his verdict is diametrically opposed to that of Professor Sayce. According to Dr Winckler, the Patriarchs never existed, the Israelites were never in Egypt, the whole account of the Exodus is consequently fictitious, and neither Moses nor Joshua is a historical person. The great majority of Biblical critics, it need hardly be said, occupy an intermediate position between Professor Sayce and Dr Winckler. But how do these two historians come to differ so widely? The answer is plain: as yet the inscriptions have neither distinctly confirmed nor distinctly contradicted the statements in the Bible as to the early history of the Hebrews, and hence the opinions which archæologists pronounce upon the subject naturally vary in accordance with their modes of interpreting the Biblical narrative.

Since then our information as to Israelite history, before the time of the kings, is derived entirely from the Old Testament, we have next to consider how far Professor Sayce is competent to deal with these writings. It may be assumed that no one can form an independent opinion as to the interpretation of the text unless he has carefully studied the Hebrew language and the kindred dialects which often serve to elucidate it. Some minds doubtless find much more pleasure in constructing bold theories about Amorites and Hittites, Sabaeans and Minaeans, than in learning the use of verbs and particles; but the fact remains, humiliating as it may appear,

that without an accurate knowledge of ancient languages a man cannot reasonably hope to make discoveries in ancient history. In this respect, as every impartial critic will admit, Professor Sayce is lamentably defective. What is to be said of the scholarship of a man who tells us that the Hebrew for "after him" is *akharono* (p. 35 note), that the name *Israel* is derived from the root *yāshar* "to be upright" (p. 73), and that the words יִשָּׂשכָר בֶּן בָּרָק, in Judg. v. 15, literally (*sic*) mean "Issachar [is] like Barak" (p. 297, note 1)? Hebraists who are acquainted with Professor Sayce's other works must be aware that these are by no means unfair specimens of his philology. Similar inaccuracy shows itself in his references to the kindred dialects. In the book before us he asserts, for instance, that "in Canaanite or Phoenician the definite article of Hebrew did not exist" (p. 301 note). Could this have been written by a man who had seriously studied the Phoenician inscriptions? The definite article, expressed, as in Biblical Hebrew, by the prefix ה, is found in many Phoenician inscriptions; in a single one (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.* i. No. 165) it occurs *no less than twenty-four times*. Strange to say, Professor Sayce has given a translation of this very inscription on pp. 204-206 of his book. Did he ever read the original? Or is his acquaintance with the Phoenician inscriptions derived from translations made by other people? It must be remembered that he undertakes to supply us with the latest and most trustworthy information, based upon his own study of "the monuments." What then are his readers to think when they find that, in so elementary a matter, his assertions about the Phoenician language are refuted by the very inscriptions which he professes to translate?

Professor Sayce's method of criticising historical documents bears a great resemblance to his method of studying languages, that is to say, he combines a maximum of speculation with a minimum of investigation. He treats the Hebrew Scriptures much as they were treated by the old Rationalistic School at the beginning of this century; in other words, he accepts as true those statements which seem to him probable in themselves, and casts aside the remainder as fabulous or exaggerated. The question of the *attestation*, which is at the basis of all scientific historical criticism, is wholly ignored. No doubt it is much easier for a historian to state his general impressions than to analyse and digest a mass of complicated evidence; but without a critical analysis of the sources history becomes mere arbitrary guess-work. That a task involving a minute study of details should be highly distasteful to such minds as that of Professor Sayce is only what we might have expected (see pp. 100 *seq.*). He is apparently quite unconscious of the fact that the method which he despises is employed not only by Biblical critics,

but by all modern historians of repute. How disastrous are the consequences of neglecting literary analysis may be seen from almost every part of Professor Sayce's work. Thus, to give one instance, he is quite willing to accept the story about the vast quantities of gold, silver, and other costly materials which were used for the construction of the Tabernacle (p. 200). But the accounts of the numbering of the people he rejects (p. 211). Yet both stories rest on the same authority, and in fact they are inseparably connected, as Nöldeke has proved (*Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, 1869, p. 122). What right, therefore, have we to take the one and refuse the other? Is our own subjective intuition to be the sole arbiter in such matters? Or again, what are we to say of Professor Sayce's constant attempts to substitute "natural phenomena" for miracles? He suggests, for instance, that when the Israelites crossed the Jordan the drying up of the river-bed was due to some such occurrence as the fall of a mound, which impeded, for a while the flow of the waters (pp. 248, 249)? These theories, we should have thought, had long ago been abandoned by serious writers of history. Readers of Grote and of Freeman scarcely need to be reminded that myths are not necessarily, or even usually, exaggerations of real events; that there are "plausible myths" as well as wildly extravagant myths; and that, consequently, before we accept or reject a narrative, we have to inquire what was the purpose of the narrator and what means he had of obtaining information.

It must be added that Professor Sayce's book is disfigured by faults far worse than mere inaccuracy and inconclusiveness. Here, as in so many of the works which he has published of late, his reckless self-confidence perpetually leads him, not only to misrepresent, in the grossest manner, the views of other writers, but also to express an immeasurable contempt for any persons who venture to doubt the infallibility of "the Assyriologist," by which title he seems always to mean himself. Thus in his Preface (p. ix.) he inveighs against those who "in complacent ignorance of the cuneiform texts" do not accept his decipherment of certain names and his interpretation of a certain phrase. "The Assyriologist," he continues, "may therefore be pardoned if he finds in such displays of ignorance merely a proof of the worthlessness of the 'critical' method." The reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that among these complacently ignorant persons are to be found some of the most learned Assyriologists of our time, such men as Zimmern, Jensen, and Peiser. Can we suppose that the reputation of these eminent scholars will be injured by the fact that Professor Sayce considers them "ignorant"? But his vituperations, though unjustifiable, are perhaps not altogether inexplicable. It is notorious that during the last few years one Assyriologist after another has come

forward to caution the public against too implicit a belief in the assertions of Professor Sayce. Here it is enough to cite some remarks by Dr Jensen, Professor of Assyriology at Marburg, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. (1895), p. 378. "*Sayce's discovery*," he writes, with reference to a certain theory, "*crumbles away to nothing, as is the case with almost everything else that he has made out, pointed out, and discovered.*" These warnings, it is plain, have had some effect; both in English and in American journals there have lately been signs of a growing distrust of Professor Sayce's revelations. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

A. A. BEVAN.

#### Λόγια Ἰησοῦ.

*Sayings of our Lord, from an early Greek Papyrus, discovered and edited, with Translation and Commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Queen's College, and Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Senior Demy of Magdalen College. With two plates. Published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E.C. 1897. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 6d. net.*

#### Ueber die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu.

*Von Ad. Harnack, Berlin. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1897. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.*

*The Recently Discovered Sayings of Jesus, by the Rev. Professor Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin. "Expositor" for November and December 1897. A translation of the preceding.*

*Note on the above Paper, by the Rev. Professor J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge. "Expositor" for December 1897.*

*Two Lectures on the 'Sayings of Jesus' recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus, delivered at Oxford on Oct. 23, 1897, by the Rev. Walter Lock, D.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, and the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 49. Price, 1s. 6d. net.*

IN addition to the publications which appear at the head of this article, the Oxyrhynchus fragment has called forth an immense number of lectures, pamphlets, letters, and articles. The bibliographical list, which is published along with Professors Lock and Sanday's Lectures, contains not far short of a hundred different

publications, all dealing with the Logia. In all this literature there is, naturally, the greatest variety of opinion expressed as to the date and character of the fragment, as to the meaning of its contents, and the filling up of its lacunae. On one point, however, there is the greatest unanimity. All are agreed as to the merits of the edition in which Messrs Grenfell and Hunt first introduced the discovery to the public. We may venture to predict that the "Two Lectures" in which Professors Lock and Sanday combine at the close of the year to take stock of the progress of the criticism and interpretation of the Sayings, will meet with an equally favourable reception. Along with the Two Lectures are published the careful Bibliography already mentioned, and a very valuable edition of the text, with emendations and illustrations, the latter printed in full both from Biblical and other sources.<sup>1</sup> For all this, the revised text, the critical apparatus, the illustrations, and the bibliography, the authors are jointly responsible. In the Lectures, they divide the subject between them, Professor Lock taking the interpretation of the Sayings, Professor Sanday their history and origin, though, of necessity, each occasionally treads upon the other's ground.

One point—we may say, the only one—on which the first editors have met with any unfavourable criticism, namely, the use of the title Logia, the new editors have completely threshed out between them. On the one hand, Professor Sanday opportunely reminds us that Messrs Grenfell and Hunt called the contents of the fragment 'Logia,' not 'the Logia,' and maintains that the title is in itself appropriate, that the contents of the fragment "are exactly what is meant by 'Logia'—brief, authoritative, and, as it were, oracular sayings." On the other hand, Professor Lock does not think that the title Λόγια is wrong, but that we ought to remember that there is no authority for it as the title of this document. Many, he adds, will think it a probable suggestion, but considering that the phrase Λόγια Ἰησοῦ never occurs, and that the phrase λόγια or τὰ λόγια, with Θεοῦ or τοῦ Κυρίου or Κυριακά, most frequently seems to have another meaning, it seems at least as probable that the real title was Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ. Dr Lock further adds that, even if Λόγια is the correct title, "Sayings" is scarcely an adequate translation; 'Solemn Utterances,' or 'Oracles,' would, as Professor

<sup>1</sup> To the Bibliography may now be added the Note on Professor Harnack's Paper in the December *Expositor* by the Rev. Professor J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge, and a Letter in the *Guardian* of January 19, 1898, by the Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, of Exeter College; Canon Rawnsley's "Sayings of Jesus," Six Village Sermons on the Papyrus Fragment; Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, price One Shilling, and "The Christ Always with Us," a Sermon, by Charles Hargrove, M.A., price One Penny; Leeds: Goedall & Suddick, may also be mentioned.

Sanday suggests, better reproduce the authoritative associations of the word.

Especial attention may be called to the 'Text, with Emendations and Illustrations,' published with the Two Lectures, which alone will be sufficient to render this publication as indispensable to the student of the Logia as the *editio princeps* was in the beginning. In each case where the manuscript is deficient the selected conjecture is embodied in the text, and it and the other conjectural readings are given in the notes. Some of the conjectures are very attractive. But it must be remembered that they are all, as Dr Sanday warns us, only conjectures as yet. It would be assuming too much to regard any of them as certainties. Even those which seem most likely may be in reality quite wide of the mark. The field is, therefore, still open to any one who has anything better to suggest.

Amongst the most striking things that have been written about the Logia are Professor Harnack's comments on what he calls the introduction to the third Saying. They raise visions of discoveries which may yet be before us. "In this introduction," he says, "there is as much to surprise us as there is little in the Saying proper. 'I placed myself (stepped, stood) in the midst of the world, and in the flesh I appeared to them,' &c. At the first glance one is inclined to think (as the editors recognise) of some speech of Jesus which He delivered to His disciples after His Resurrection. Of so-called Gospels, in which Jesus speaks when returned to life, we know quite enough. But on closer examination we are compelled to abandon this suggestion. The transition to the present *πρὸς*, in other words, the declaration that His soul (now, still) labours (suffers) for mankind, is incomprehensible if it is to be the risen Jesus who is speaking. It shows that in these words we must recognise a backward glance upon His work on the part of the still living not the risen Christ. The thought with which it introduced answers to the belief of Paul, of John, and of 1 Timothy iii. 16. Everyone will be reminded of this passage: *ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*, and of John i. 10, 11, 14. But that this confession of faith should be put into the mouth of Jesus, and at the same time in a strongly rhetorical form (*ἔσται ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου*), goes considerably beyond the old Gospels. John, at any rate, did not venture to put into the mouth of Jesus, so definitely as this, that which he prefixed to his Gospel in the Prologue. In the Gospel Jesus speaks of his pre-existence in allusions. Here, however, Jesus speaks as a Divine Being. The Gospel out of which this saying is taken must really have been a Logos-Gospel, whether the word Logos appeared in it or not. That is to say, it must have been a Gospel to which the characteristic type of John's Gospel must



have been related as the immediately preceding stage. . . We learn by a single saying the existence of a Gospel which teaches us that the line, which leads from the Synoptics to John, was carried still further."

But, while this is so, Professor Harnack continues, the Sayings show that they proceed from a source which in form and contents stands much closer to the Synoptics than the Fourth Gospel does.

"Thus we have not to assume a direct succession—Synoptics, John, our Gospel—but a dual development. The Johannine Gospel has emancipated itself from the old tradition far more than the Gospel from which our Sayings are derived. But inasmuch as it does not present Christ describing Himself directly as a Divine Being who has appeared in the flesh, it remains historically more accurate in regard to the decisive and chief question."

If these speculations are correct, Professor Harnack may well add: "How much of the history of theology, how much whose issues are still far from cleared up, lies in this single Logion! In the same breath Jesus all but describes Himself as the supra-mundane Being manifested in the flesh, and yet speaks, as He does in the Synoptics, of the *πνεῖν*, the weary labour of His soul."

In the second part of his essay, Professor Harnack gives further reason for thinking that the Sayings are extracted from a Gospel, and concludes that the Gospel from which they are taken is the Gospel of the Egyptians.

But Harnack's reasons for believing that the Sayings are taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians are not convincing. The first proof that the Sayings come from a Gospel is derived, as we have seen, from the use of the word *πνεῖν*, which would not have been in place, Professor Harnack thinks, after the Resurrection, and therefore must have been taken from a narrative of the earthly life of Christ. But is this certain? Professor Lock does not think so. He maintains that the present *πνεῖ* is quite conceivable for the post-resurrection life, comparing Acts ix. 5, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." Compare also Ephes. iv. 30 and Heb. vi. 6. Sanday is of the same opinion, adding that "the most natural interpretation of the aorists *ἔστην*, *ᾤφθην*, *εὔρον*, is that they are spoken from the point of view of the period after the Resurrection."

Professor Harnack's second reason for thinking that the Sayings are extracted directly from a Gospel, is contained in the fourth Saying,<sup>1</sup> which, he says, "shows clearly that it is taken from a

<sup>1</sup> "Jesus saith, Wherever there are \* \* \* \* and there is one \* \* \* \* alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I." ([λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς, ὁπ]ου ἐὰν ᾧσιν[\*\*\*\*]ε[\*\*\*]\*\* θεοὶ καὶ [\*\*]ἰσ[\*\*]ε[\*\*] ἐστὶν μόνος[\*\*] τῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]. ἐγεί[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεί εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμ.)



larger context; for we have to supply the fact that the Lord is here speaking of His disciples" (December *Expositor*, p. 403). That is to say, he assumes that the reading *οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι* is the undoubted reading of the MS., and that the nominative to *εἰσὶν* must be supplied from the preceding context, and he founds his argument on the assumption thus made. But as yet the reading is only conjectural. The conjecture is, no doubt, an obvious and likely one, but at this stage it cannot possibly be accepted as certain, or made the basis of an argument as to the origin of the fragment. It is not the reading preferred by the Oxford professors, who have provisionally adopted another reading, namely, the conjecture of Blass, *ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖσιν β*, &c.

Harnack's theory that the Sayings are taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians seems to be open to another very obvious objection. All the Sayings, as far as we can judge of them, appear to have a well marked parallel structure like the parallelism of Hebrew poetry. The only possible exceptions are the first and last Sayings, both of which are incomplete. Now there is no trace of this parallel construction in any of the eight Sayings of Jesus which Professor Harnack produces as undoubted extracts from the Gospel of the Egyptians. This does not look as if the Sayings in the newly-discovered fragments were part of the same composition which contained the other eight, unless we are to suppose that the form of the Sayings was altered when they were extracted from the Gospel. But this supposition would, of course, be fatal to the argument derived from the missing nominative to *εἰσὶν*. If the form of the Saying was changed in transferring it from the Gospel, it is not likely that the verb would have been left without a subject when the Saying was reconstructed.

But, whether the Sayings are taken from a Gospel or not, Harnack's remarks on their theological character retain their value. The theology of the Sayings is Logos theology, though it may not have been embodied in a Logos Gospel. Here we may quote Professor Sanday, who "cannot think, in spite of all that has been said in various quarters, that the opening words, *ἔσται ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὥφθην αὐτοῖς*, could ever have come from our Lord. 'To come' or 'appear,' or 'be manifested in the flesh,' is a phrase which belongs to the later Apostolic age—to the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistles of St John." Dr Lock, however, "inclines rather more than Dr Sanday does to the possibility that some at least of the new Sayings may be genuine, and to the theory which would see in the document a copy of some pre-canonical collection of our Lord's discourses." Sanday, again, holds that, though none of the new matter represents, as it stands, a genuine saying of our Lord, the author starts, as a rule, from

genuine sayings, but works them up in a sense of his own, much as he supposes the writer of the Fourth Gospel to have done, but with this difference, that the material of the Logia editor did not rest on the same basis of personal experience.

Of the remarkable words, "Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and I am there," Dr Lock offers us the choice of no less than five, really six, different interpretations. But both he and Dr Sanday produce strong reasons for giving the preference to that which first suggests itself, and which appears the simplest and most natural, namely, to take the text "as referring to the presence of Christ as the Logos in inanimate nature as well as with the Church, even in its smallest fractions." This meaning, Professor Sanday adds, is peculiar, but not necessarily heterodox. Not necessarily so. But the cautious words of Dr Lock ought to be added: "It does not deny Christ's personality or merge Him in nature, though it must be admitted that it finds its closest analogies in the Gnostic writers whom we have quoted, and whose teaching tended to that issue."

There is another point, too, upon which it looks as if first thoughts were likely to prove best. How to interpret the words 'Jesus says,' Professor Lock considers one of the most difficult points. But he declares his preference for the view that "the present has a *mystical* force; the past Saying of the Lord still speaks, and speaks with an authoritative tone, somewhat akin to Cowper's line, 'Jesus speaks and speaks to thee.'"

On the whole we may perhaps sum up our conclusions so far in the following propositions:—

1. That the contents of the fragment formed part of a collection of Sayings attributed to Jesus.
2. That the Sayings are not all taken from the Canonical Gospels, or founded on them.
3. That some of them are apparently founded on sayings which appear in a simpler form in the Synoptic Gospels.
4. That they appear to belong to a stream of tradition different from the traditions of the Canonical Gospels, different but related.
5. That there is no evidence to show whether they were culled from a Gospel or Gospels, or from any other written composition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the remarks which I ventured to make above on Harnack's opinion that the Logia were taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians, I was only dealing with the reasons which he gives for thinking that the Sayings were extracted from the Gospel. I did not attempt to discuss the reasons given by him or by Dr Armitage Robinson for thinking that there may have been a close relation between the Gospel and the Logia. "Whatever we may think," writes Dr Sanday, "about the view that the Sayings are extracted from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, they may well have had their birth in proximity to it."

6. That they have a common literary character, which may have been due to the compiler or editor.

7. That in the present form the Sayings were not spoken by Jesus, and do not belong to the earliest age.

8. That the theology of (some of) the Sayings is like the theology of the Fourth Gospel, while the form and contents generally are more like the Synoptics.

9. That the passage about raising the stone and cleaving the wood is capable of an orthodox interpretation, but that it may also have been written or understood in a pantheistic sense.

JOHN A. CROSS.

### **The Mysteries Pagan and Christian.**

*Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1896-97. By S. Cheetham, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester, Hon. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Fellow and Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London: Macmillan & Co. 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 150. Price, 5s.*

ARCHDEACON CHEETHAM has selected for his Hulsean Lectures a subject far wider than that of mere antiquarian research. Rightly regarded, and from a modern point of view, the Mysteries seem a strange survival of the old Pagan type of thought passing on into and mingling with the new current of thought brought in by Christianity. There are two errors on the subject in opposite extremes against which the Hulsean lecturer sets his face resolutely. The one type of thought, of which the school of Warburton may be named as the representative, laid the greatest stress on these 'Mysteries,' and pressed them into the service as a kind of left-handed argument for the Divine Legation of Moses. The other school, of which we may name John Locke as the representative, fell into the opposite extreme, and annulled and extinguished all significance of the Mysteries. "What had the Gospel scheme," it asked, "in common with these mystery men?" "There is nothing secret, it is said, which shall not be revealed," and they rejected with scorn the thought of a religion which contained anything covered or concealed. "We use great plainness of speech," was the boast of this Christianity of common sense.

It is not too late for Archdeacon Cheetham to step in between these opposite extremes and to lay down a theory of the Mysteries which may be described as a mediation theory. Put concisely and in a few sentences, the position taken up by Archdeacon Cheetham is this—

"Whatever may have been their influence, the ancient Mysteries are gone. They made their attempt, not probably and wholly a vain attempt, to gild the life of man by the gleam of hope of a life to come—better, purer, and brighter than that which we now had. But they were essentially a part of the old Paganism, and as the unique culture died away, the rites and customs, which it brought forth, faded and vanished also. In the third and fourth centuries after Christ, we see it in its death throes. Paganism is smitten with a senile decay, while youthful Christianity is strong with a God-given strength. Before the day-spring from on high, the heretics of the mystic rite pale their ineffectual fires. The darkness is passing away, and the true light already shineth; earth-born clouds still hang round the Sun of Righteousness; clouds even in our own land where Christ has been preached for many generations; clouds darker still in the lands where Christ is unknown; yet we know that the dawn has begun, we know that the day-spring from on high has visited us, and we doubt not that it will shine more and more unto the perfect day."

In this there is much which connects the Mysteries with the Christian Church. The older view of the Pagan Mysteries was that in them was taught an esoteric doctrine, better and nobler than that of the popular religion which had been handed down through a constant succession of priests or hierophants, and imparted from age to age to select votaries who kept the secret of their knowledge. It is this view, the traditional one of the Mysteries, which Archdeacon Cheetham sets aside without much compunction. There was little that was critical in these theories. They were generally based on the assumption of some hidden master of India or the East, and stranger still, some primitive revelation to all mankind in the patriarchal age. The Hulsean lecturer has little difficulty in brushing aside these conjectures of a precritical age, but when it comes to what he has to set up in their stead, we are met with the same difficulty as all the new German school, when they have to change front, and instead of sweeping off the board the old traditions, they have to set up some positive theory in its stead. It is easy to go with one half of the Niebuhr school, but not so easy to follow Mommsen and his into the constructive half of early Roman history. It is the same with Archdeacon Cheetham. He can demolish, without much trouble, Warburton and his "amazing theory," but when he takes up with Lobeck in attempting a constructive account of the Mysteries, we find ourselves in a wood. It is the case as with most German theorists; we fail to "see the trees for the wood." Lobeck, we are told, introduced order where all had been chaos, and distinguished where his predecessors had confused; Greek traits were cleared from Oriental, and private separated from public rites. The Orphic

Mysteries, for instance, which really belonged to a kind of secret society, were shown to be different in kind from the Eleusinian. "It must be confessed, however" (our author dryly adds), "that Lobeck treats his subject in too hard and unsympathetic a spirit, tending to ignore the aspirations after higher things than those of the common life, which were, after all, found in the Mysteries."

The result of the whole enquiry is that the new learning has not done much to replace the old on this well-worn subject. In all ages of faith there have been reformers before the Reformation, and they have generally, to escape persecution, gone masked under the veil of Mystery. They have set up a kind of sham priesthood to set at naught the vain pretensions of the current creed. It is singularly to the credit of the early Church how seldom and sparsely it fell under the reproach of the old mystery-mongers. It was with "open face," and "not as Moses," that apostles taught in the earliest age of all. This good tradition lingered long in the Church, and it was only, as the age of persecution passed away with Constantine's fatal donation and expedient conversion, that men began to set up a new *rapprochement* with the old Mysteries. In an age corrupt with false asceticism and seething with sacerdotalism, it was easy to cross the border and set up a strange correspondence between sacraments and mysteries, when the magical view of the ordinance replaced the moral, and Mystery, *per accidens*, passed into mystification, *per abusum*. The Church then grew into the "cloistered pale," and having forsaken her mission as the leaven, never ceasing till it had leavened the whole, she then became the world's antagonist, fighting the fight, however, with changed weapons, and only resulting in that type of sanctity best described as other-worldliness.

We part then with Archdeacon Cheetham, very favourably impressed with the range of his inquiries and his wide and accurate scholarship. Like most men of the new Cambridge school of light and leading, he is less penetrated with philosophical ideas than with a wide and exact knowledge of what others before him have said and thought on the subject. We should have liked to follow him had he led the way into these fascinating by-paths of scholarship in which the Sibylline books were seriously believed in, and sibyls were either much more historical than the witches and pyxies which replaced them in later times. These extra-canonical prophets and prophetesses, whose inspiration was never doubted till far down below Reformation times—all this opens up a fascinating line of research, in which much side-light might be thrown on the transition of Christianity from a primitive or Judaic type to a later or Hellenic type. It is singular, however, as corroborating all that has been said on the subject of the Mysteries, that they were almost

entirely of the Hellenic type. Roman ideas entered here scarcely, if at all. The Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries were Greek exclusively, the reaction of a chattering, superstitious age against the popular creed, which was too gross and realistic for the serious attention of a single serious mind. In a land where altars were raised to Piety, Fame, and Friendship, no such reaction could arise, for none such was needed. The Romans were not as much misled by priestcraft as the too credulous Greeks, hence the reaction of the Mysteries, which was only a petty under-current in Rome, rose in Greece to the height and force of a hurricane, and coloured the whole life of the people. Theology should take account of all these reactions. Preller's remarks on the subject are very much to the point. We quote them from Archdeacon Cheetham:—

“Christianity did not win its victory without receiving some wounds, of which it even now bears the scars: for careful and extensive research would certainly show that much of that which in the Catholic Church (whether Roman or Greek) is not derived from the Gospel, particularly as regards ritual, is to be referred to that contest, and to be regarded as spoils from the Pagan Mysteries, taken over into the enemy's camp.” Renan goes one step further, and bluntly asserts that “the primitive form of Christian worship was a Mystery; all the internal discipline of the Church, the grades of initiation, the injunction of secrecy, and numerous peculiar ecclesiastical terms, have no other origin.” Much to the same effect was the late lamented Dr Hatch's conclusion, who said that all “the elements which are found in the later, and not in the earlier form of the sacraments, are elements which are found outside Christianity in the Mysteries and Thiasî.”

Here we must break off and conclude our survey of this fascinating subject. When polytheism was in the air, so to speak, and none thought otherwise, but a few of the Socratic school, we can understand the rise and spread of the Mysteries. To these the early Church turned as fellow confessors of the same truth, that God was one, and His name one. Instead of the sterile Monotheism of the Jew, they branched out into questions of the hereafter, and rewards and punishments, which left the Jew far behind in his old Mosaic pinfold. This was the grain of truth in the Warburton theory, which scarcely deserved to be waived aside as beneath notice in the critical age. We owe much to German scholarship, and University lecturers are only too ready to pay their debts in the shekel money of the sanctuary. But we wish it had been otherwise, for then we should have known how much we owe of our Christian origins to these unconscious imitations of the rite of the old Mysteries. Did baptism grow up, for instance, as an unconscious following of the rite of initiation into the Mysteries? If so,



does it not throw light on the strange neglect of infant baptism up to an age far beyond that of Augustine? It clearly was regarded not so much as a soul-saving rite as the act of initiation into the higher circle of the enlightened. All this shows us how much the early Church was indebted to the practices and traditions of still earlier times, before the name of Christ was known, and when gross idolatry lay dark and thick on mankind. The Church hailed these pre-Christian Reformers. They were to them the herald of a coming dawn, when the sun was not yet risen on the earth. Much of this Archdeacon Cheetham readily recognises, but the spell of modern German scholarship lies heavy on him, and many of these side issues he only glances at, and passes on without attempting much constructive argument. Lectures, in a word, are the least satisfactory method of discussing these subjects. Their method is acroamatic, and once glanced at, the lecturer has to pass on, driven on by the resistless sweep of his subject. There is no turning back—no winding in and out into conjectures and hair-breadth analogies. We are never asked what might have been had the Greek type prevailed over the Latin, as was, unfortunately, not the case in the West, at least. To the Latin mind, as we have seen, the subject of the Mysteries was of little interest, and was soon forgotten and left behind. More engrossing themes absorbed their attention, but, at least, the Archdeacon is to be thanked for turning us into one of the by-ways of history, and raising enquiries as to the action of an obscure line of thought on the evolution of Church history. Mysteries, in a word, are sacraments and symbols, and were we not pledged to a straitened sense of sacrament in its dual aspect, we should see its meaning afresh in the lines:—

“ When love interprets what the eye discerns,  
When mind discovers what is truly meant,  
When man from nature, nature's meaning learns,  
Each sight and sound becomes a sacrament.”

J. B. HEARD.

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### **The Celtic Church in Ireland.**

*By James Heron, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Assembly's College, Belfast. London: Service & Paton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HERON presents an account of the making of the Church in Ireland in a short volume which will serve the general reader, and in a scientific form which will make it of great use to the student. The style is good, and the scientific treatment of docu-



ments has not made the writer tedious. Fortunately the historian does not often forget himself and pass into the preacher with words like—"How long will the Irish people groan under the oppressive yoke of a system," &c. Professor Heron has a scientific instinct which rejects, in the case of St Patrick, the later "Lives," and consequently the legends. Criticism gets rid of the miracles of the saints, because they did not happen. A sigh for the loss of legends is vain, yet history is unintelligible without them. St Patrick, as a simple or even successful missionary, is not the man who has wrought through Irish ecclesiastical history, so that when we get to the real Patrick we leave the maker of history. It is right, however, for scientific purposes, that Professor Heron should refuse to go beyond the acknowledged original writings of the Saint, as all other materials for a biography are to be suspected from their date. Referring to the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, he says: "It is now practically certain that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain under Claudius (A.D. 43-47), was a Christian"; and he points to her as one of those through whom Christianity might have found its way to Britain. He quotes Bishop Lightfoot, who believed in her Christianity, and he might have pointed to Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, i. 22), who say that she "is assumed to have been both a Christian and a Briton." Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 32) says that Pomponia Graecina was charged with a foreign superstition, which is taken by many interpreters to mean Christianity; and De Rossi thought that he had proved that she was the Lucina who gave her name to a crypt in the Catacombs. The foreign superstition may have been Judaism or some form of Monotheism which led to a neglect of the worship of the gods of Rome. There is no certainty that the woman was a Christian. In any case Tacitus asserts: "Longa huic Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit: nam post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit." The death of this Julia took place in 43, and for forty years after that event Pomponia continued in mourning. Was this woman, who mourned for forty years, in Britain? Bellesheim says her forty years of mourning were after her own trial, which took place in 57; but Tacitus does not. Was her foreign superstition Christianity? If she was a Christian in 57, was she a Christian in 43-47 when her husband was in Britain? It is conjecture everywhere, and scientific history is not to be built on a series of conjectures.

Professor Heron, like other historians who accept only the *Confession* and the *Epistle to the Christian subjects of Coroticus*, with the *Hymn*, has left for himself but scanty material for a biography of St Patrick. Following Dr Whitley Stokes he takes

Coroticus to have been Coirthrech, King of Ail; and assigns no reason for rejecting Dr Todd's suggestion (*St Patrick*, 352), taken by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. ii. 314), that he was Ceredig, Prince of Ceredigian or Cardigan.

Professor Heron is not always discriminating when he follows Dr Whitley Stokes. Without discussion he practically adopts his scheme of chronology for St Patrick's life, and rejects Dr Todd's, which is more or less arbitrary. Dr Stokes thinks it probable that the date of the birth was 373, a year later than that asserted by Archb. Usher. Probus, writing in the tenth or eleventh century, related the story of St Patrick's life, from which Dr Stokes gets "the kernel of fact" that Patrick went to Ireland as a priest, "say in A.D. 397," and that he afterwards went into Gaul, "say in A.D. 427." Professor Heron accepts for a scheme of chronology conjectures formed from a writing which he will not use for other biographical purposes. The truth is that the chronology of St Patrick's life must be mere conjecture.

In rejecting the stories of St Patrick's residence on the Continent and study under Germanus and Martin of Tours, Professor Heron lays stress on the fact that St Patrick in his old age blushed for his ignorance, and also on the fact that the style of the Latin writings is rude and ungrammatical. It cannot be argued from this Latin style that he was not on the Continent, even under Martin of Tours, for a term of years. He may have been absent from Ireland or Britain, and may have been generally among men who used a rude form of Latin; and his long residence in Ireland, after his stay on the Continent, would not improve his style. It is noteworthy that Professor Heron adduces all the arguments of Dr Whitley Stokes in favour of the authenticity of the *Confession* and the *Epistle*, save one which refers to the *Confession*, viz., "the agreement of the style with that of Gregory of Tours." Professor Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 28, note) says, in reference to Gregory's works, that "the Latin style is very similar to St Patrick's, rude and semi-barbarous in grammar and spelling"; and he points to M. Max-Bonnet, in the *Revue Critique*, as an authority for this statement. St Gregory lived after St Patrick, and no one has alleged that he learned his style from the Irish saint. It is not absurd to think that they both learned the Latin of the same district, and therefore that St Patrick did live on the Continent during some part of his life. It may well be argued that if he had studied under Germanus or Martin of Tours he would have narrated the fact in the *Confession*; but the corrupt Latin style is no proof that he did not learn Latin on the Continent. Professor Heron admits that the *Confession* has several terms and phrases not unlike terms and phrases of the Athanasian creed,

which, he further admits, is supposed by some good authorities to have originated in Gaul in the fifth century. Accepting his admissions, we may draw a possible inference that St Patrick was in Gaul; and there is another inference, not altogether absurd, that the particular form of monasticism found in Ireland, akin to that of Egypt, was familiar to St Patrick through his residence in Gaul. Professor Heron goes so far as to say that "Athanasius brought the knowledge of it to the West, and it is highly probable that St Martin of Tours was the medium through whom, indirectly perhaps, Patrick became familiar with it."

Professor Heron does not discuss this interesting question of the connection of the Irish Church with Egypt and the East. Le Blant has shown that there are genuine tokens that Egyptian and other Eastern influences affected Gaul during the period of St Patrick's alleged residence in that country. There is no incontestable proof that St Patrick was in Gaul, but his corrupt Latin style may be made to prove too much.

There can be no objection to Professor Heron rejecting all biographical incidents not recorded in St Patrick's own writings, but he is not altogether consistent in his rejections. He takes, for example, as "true in substance," the story of King Laoghaire's daughters, which is not in the *Confession* or the *Epistle*; and will not admit that the Saint had any connection with or liking for Rome. Dr Whitley Stokes asserts that "he had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees, that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See (*Tripartite Life*, i. 135). One of the decrees is given thus: "Si quæ questiones (difficiles?) in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur"; and there seems no strong reason for throwing it aside. A longer form of this decree, given in the Book of Armagh, implies an organised hierarchy, and cannot be genuine. In the West there was no jealousy of Roman supremacy at the time of St Patrick, as Skene points out, and the fact that ritual and custom in the Irish Church were not altogether Roman does not affect the question of referring difficulties to Rome. Professor Heron is right when he contends that we have no proof of a Roman commission to St Patrick; yet, as he does sometimes go beyond the facts of the authentic writings of the Saint, we are in a difficulty when he will have nothing to do with the education in Gaul and the "reverent affection for the Church of Rome" which commend themselves as facts to a scholar like Dr Whitley Stokes.

Professor Heron's book deals with the history of the Irish Church down to a much later period than that of St Patrick, and shows

throughout a sober criticism. The main difficulty in his treatment of St Patrick lies in the fact that while, for the most part, he is at one with Dr Todd, he is, on occasion, in opposition to Dr Whitley Stokes and to Professor E. T. Stokes; and in this opposition does not quite satisfy us regarding the Latin style, the Eastern characteristics of the Irish Church, and the traditions of study and a residence in Gaul. The Patrick of the *Confession* and the *Epistle* does not solve all the problems connected with the Saint.

JOHN HERKLESS.

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### **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Die Kleinen Propheten.* Von Dr W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 412. Price, M.8; bound, M.9.80.

### **The Expositor's Bible.**

*The Book of the Twelve Prophets. Vol. II.* By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 543. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE twelve Minor Prophets have not been well treated, either as regards their name, or as to their place in the Old Testament. Gathered into one book as they are, they seem to be a kind of supplement to the true prophetic succession—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and so on; whereas they really represent that succession, the greater prophets being only links which have fallen out of the chain. Stretching as these twelve books do over a space of four hundred years or more, they contain the main part of the prophetic revelation to Israel. In them, taken together with the greater prophets, every phase of the progressive movement which specially culminated in Jesus Christ is found; and it would have been a great service to sound exegesis if the exposition of the prophets in this brilliant series of commentaries had been taken in the order in which they appeared, or are supposed to have appeared, in the history of Israel. Had that been done, and had each commentator undertaken to deal only with the prophets of a definite period, the history of which he had mastered by original work, we might have hoped for thoroughly original exegesis in the case of each book. But when, owing to the irrational grouping of these twelve precious booklets, one man feels bound to deal with them all, he cannot but have to describe occurrences and to depict circumstances which he knows only imperfectly. Consequently, no one man can give us

such a commentary on the Minor Prophets as Professor Nowack and his band of fellow-workers might have given us.

Considering how impossible the task he has undertaken is, however, Professor Nowack has succeeded in it to a degree which will give his book a place alongside the very best expositions of these Prophets which have preceded his. He is learned and accurate; he has brought to bear upon his task all that archaeological knowledge which his previous writings have shown that he possesses; and he sympathises with the higher and religious aspects of the prophetic writings. Moreover, he is resolutely set to keep an open mind, and though, as we shall see, he follows his school in the main principles of his exegesis, he keeps a middle path in regard to some very important matters. He does not deny the supernatural in prophecy, for he says (p. 116): "It is not by any gift for political synthesis that Amos gets to his announcement of Israel's downfall, but by the certainty which rose within his heart under the influence of Yahweh." Nor does he deny, as so many do, that there is proof in Hosea of the existence of written law before his day, for he says (p. 55), "Beyond doubt, this passage (viii. 12) presupposes written Torôth; the only question is, what was their content?" Further, he finds in Hos. iii. 1 an expression of the sharp contrast between the Canaanite or semi-Canaanite worship of his contemporaries and that of ancient Israel, so that he admits the falling-away of Israel from an earlier and purer worship, and regards this depraved cultus and not the cultus *per se*, as the object of the Prophets' attacks. There are other questions upon which he takes up a similarly moderate and reasonable position, but these will be sufficient to show that he is no thick and thin supporter of the most advanced party. Plain facts really influence him, as they do not influence the thorough-going partisan.

The dates which Professor Nowack gives to the various books are suggestive and interesting, but the full significance of his arrangement has been obscured by his adherence, in the arrangement of his work, to the traditional order. *Amos* he places about 760 B.C.; *Hosea*, 750-735; *Micah*, i.-iii., time of Hezekiah (i.e. between 727-699); iv. and v., partly in Hezekiah's reign, partly in post-exile times; vii. and viii. in the time of Manasseh (698-643); *Nahum*, about 610; *Zephaniah*, except for interpolations, 620; *Habakkuk*, with same reservation, 590; *Haggai*, 520; *Zechariah*, i.-viii., 520-518; *Malachi*, about 475; *Obadiah*, 450; *Joel*, about 400; *Jonah*, after Joel; *Zechariah*, ix.-xi. 3, after conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great; xi. 4-xiv., in late post-exilic time. His argument for the late date of Joel is a very strong and impressive one, and will go far, we think, to settle the late origin of that exceedingly difficult book; but his reasons

for placing Obadiah so late as 450 do not seem to be at all conclusive. The view that book gives of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans is too vivid to represent a mere historic grief more than a century old. Moreover, the mention of "thieves" who were not wont to make permanent conquests, which suggests to Wellhausen that it was the desert thieves, the Nomadic tribes, who were to betray Edom, appears rather to indicate that the destroyers were to be a different and contrasted people. Finally, the removal of Zechariah, ix.-xiv. to the very end of the prophets brings Nowack back into the company of Keil and others, with whom he rarely has any temptation to agree.

One very valuable feature of this book is the series of paragraphs upon the theological significance of each prophecy. They are not exhaustive by any means, but they are very interesting contributions to our knowledge of the theological ideas of the prophets, and will repay careful study. Another good specimen of the author's powers will be found in his defence of the non-allegorical interpretation of Hos. i.-iii., which has never been better done we think. But besides his own work, he has given us the latest results of German labour upon the twelve prophets, sifted by his scholarly intelligence. Conjectural emendations are put forward with commendable reserve, and the grammatical notes are clear and careful. The result is that, until we get the ideal commentary sketched above, this book will be indispensable for the study of the twelve prophets, and we could wish to see it in the hands of all serious students.

As it has been pointed out that no one man can write an entirely adequate book upon all the minor prophets, it follows that no one man can adequately criticise such a book; but there are one or two features of Professor Nowack's work which seem to demand a word of deprecation at least. There would seem to have risen in Germany a kind of orthodoxy in criticism, which, like all orthodoxies, prevents the mind from playing with any freedom round certain fixed positions, though these to "them that are without" are by no means well established. Take, for example, the practice of the excision of passages from the text of the Scriptural books. The critico-orthodox assumption underlying this seems to be that the Masoretic text is so bad that almost any liberty may be taken with it. With some it would seem to have come to this, that whenever anything appears in a book of Scripture which a modern writer, with a vivid and rapid style, would not have said in that place or that manner; or whenever an utterance of an Old Testament writer makes things awkward for a theory which the commentator specially cherishes, the short and easy method of dealing with it is to thrust it out. We do not mean,



of course, that excisions are never justified. There are undeniable instances where marginal glosses have crept into the text; pieces have probably also been inserted which did not form part of the original authors' books, especially at the end of prophecies; and there would appear to be cases where poems have been written as prose and then filled up with glosses. But Nowack's harshness in excision suggests that we can hardly be too cautious in admitting such things. For (1) the judgment concerning them is rarely such that it can be justified to or tested by the reason. (2) The danger of removing by this process anomalies which, if preserved and pondered, would open up new and true points of view is very great. (Nowack appears to us to do this very thing in his note on חֲקָמִיר in Hos. ii. 15, instead of which he would write חֲקָמִיר, and also in his violent and unsuccessful effort to make Nahum an alphabetic poem). (3) The liberty to excise frees the mind from the necessity of giving strenuous attention to the text as it stands, and so favours bad exegesis. Professor Nowack charges Wellhausen with omitting words in Hos. ii. 17, because he did not properly understand the context, and we think he himself, in iii. 4, strikes out the words וְאֵין מֶלֶךְ וְאֵין שָׂר, because he has quite fatally misunderstood the passage. (4) Lastly, we think no series of interpolations directed to one end should be admitted, until the purpose of the interpolator has been made rationally credible, and some reasonable conjecture as to his motives has been made. Puck as an interpolator will not do.

Now, Professor Nowack seems to us to have gone far beyond the allowable margin in conjecture of this sort, and the reasons he gives in many cases simply ignore all the considerations we have indicated. A few specimens taken mainly from Hosea will be sufficient to show this. Kuenen, in dealing with chapters i.-iii., thought only i. 7 ought to be excised. Wellhausen, again, the father of them that excise, in the Minor Prophets omits only five verses and a phrase. But Professor Nowack cuts out eighteen verses and three portions of verses from the thirty-nine verses of these chapters. It is needless to say that, for such wholesale slaughter, his reasons are singularly inadequate. Even i. 7, which all critics condemn on the ground that it refers to Sennacherib's defeat before Jerusalem, may be defended. It may be admitted that if there was such a reference in the verse, the prevailing character of Hebrew prophecy would be against its genuineness here. But probably there is no such reference intended. In Hosea's day Israel was still much the stronger of the two sections of the people. The prophet was busy foretelling the overthrow of the stronger Israel, and if he foretold deliverance for Judah, it



would be quite a natural thought for him, that such a deliverance from the might of Assyria, would not be by warlike strength, but by the Divine help alone.

But other passages in these chapters are rejected because they contain promises of restoration which are said to be out of place, as they anticipate the final statement of the promise in chap. xiv. But that is too prosaic to be valid. The prophets, if they are not poets, write poetical prose. Besides being men of the spirit, they are men of passion also. Such men find relief in a refrain, and the great assurance of the final triumph of divine love and patience which Hosea attained, naturally bursts forth in a joyous refrain at every mention of the doom he had been constrained to utter in his earlier days. A modern exegete, or a writer of leading articles, would not do such a thing? Granted; but then it is conceivable that a poet and a prophet might.

Another point concerning which a kind of critical orthodoxy seems to have affected Professor Nowack's view, is the striking out of all references to Judah from Hosea. Apparently the Well-hausian critics have come to the conclusion that the prophets who spoke before the destruction of Samaria dealt only with the N. kingdom. The fact that the mention of Judah interrupts that strict sequence of ideas which is expected in prose, can hardly be considered sufficient to justify the suggested mutilation of the work of a prose poet. But surely it would be strange if Hosea so resolutely ignored Judah that not one single mention of it is authentic. Even if he did not flee thither, as Ewald supposes, he knew and admired the work of Amos. Moreover, the people of Judah had always been recognised as an integral part of the Israelite nation. Consequently, when things began to go ill with the N. kingdom, the comparative stability of the Davidic house, and the comparative purity of the worship in Jerusalem, might well turn the eyes of a prophet like Hosea to the smaller but sounder kingdom. Corruptions may have befallen the text in places, and Judah may at times appear where it ought not to appear, but that it should never have been mentioned by Hosea at all seems to be most unlikely. Besides, it is very difficult to see why anyone should have put himself to the trouble of interpolating "Judah" so persistently. Long before the interpolations were made, later prophets had involved Judah in Israel's condemnation, and then the interpolation was superfluous.

The last thing to be mentioned in this connection is the belief that Hosea denounced kingship as such, and that the references to Gibeah in his book relate to the beginning of the kingship in the days of Saul, who lived at Gibeah. This Nowack states as if it were now beyond dispute, but we greatly

question if it be so. Hosea undoubtedly denounced the separatist kingship founded by Jeroboam, but the references to Gibeah can hardly have anything to do with Saul's election for he was not chosen at Gibeah, but at Ramah or Mizpah. Further, the hypothesis is that Hosea in denouncing kingship as a crime was doing an entirely new thing. No one before him had taken that view, consequently he could not take it for granted that people would know what he meant when he referred to Gibeah as the source of their sin. He must have connected his mention of Gibeah explicitly with the making of kings without Jahweh's sanction. But that is precisely what he does not do. He names Gibeah as a place at which a great sin, recognisable by everyone as such, had been committed. The only such sin we know of is the outrage on the Levite's concubine. Whether it is to that he refers we cannot be quite certain, owing to the bad state of the text in x. 9. Undeniably, however, some such crime would seem to be referred to and not the choice of a king, who, though he lived at Gibeah, was chosen elsewhere.

Of course, if these were the only cases in which, as seems to us, untenable ideas have become almost articles of faith, it would be unfair to set them forth as indications of a fault which pervades the book. But they are not. Professor Nowack shows the same tendency elsewhere. Another example of it appears, *e.g.*, in the comment on Hos. iii. 4, where he says that all the things mentioned there—Ephod, Teraphim, Masseboh, and Sacrifice—are legitimate elements in Israelite worship. This is a commonplace with a certain school. But it is plain to all outside it that some of these things must be illegitimate as Hosea's wife's lovers are. That these fixed ideas have dominated Professor Nowack's mind is a heavy deduction from the debt we owe him for his exceedingly able book.

With this, the second volume of Professor George Adam Smith's *Exposition of the Twelve Prophets*, Dr Robertson Nicoll's great enterprise worthily comes to an end. The *Expositor's Bible* is now complete, and, taken as a whole, it is a series upon which any editor or publisher may look with pride. Certainly few expositions ranging over the whole compass of Scripture will be found more helpful to preachers.

Dr Smith's previous contributions to this series have raised high expectations regarding any work he does, and this delightful book will fully keep up his reputation. He had a much more difficult task to perform on this occasion than he had in regard to Isaiah or the three prophets of the twelve, whom he dealt with in his previous volume. For there he had something like adequate space at his disposal. Here he has been cabined and confined to such an

extent that the wonder is that he has managed to give us anything of the brilliant exposition for which his name is famous. But he does give it, and in such a fashion that some readers will question what has been said in the previous article, that no one man can adequately expound all these twelve prophets. We still adhere to that view, but we have enjoyed the historical introductions on the seventh century B.C., on the Persian period, on the time from the return to the building of the Temple, and on the Greek period so much, that we admit that Dr Smith comes nearer to doing justice to that portion of his task than anyone who has tried to cover so much ground. In contrast to Nowack, too, he has ordered his book on the chronological principle, and has gained immensely thereby. The translations, too, are very interesting, but he appears to us to have sacrificed the perfection of his English sometimes to the desire to reproduce the very turns of the Hebrew phrase, and to give an exact reflection of it. His reasons for lines like these—

“He has rays from each hand of Him,  
Therein is the ambush of His might,”

are appreciable only by those who have the Hebrew text before them. To the multitude of those who read this book they will seem even more doubtful than they are. This suggests another point on which the character of the series to which this book belongs has been departed from. The very numerous and interesting notes are, in many cases, of interest only to Hebrew specialists. That on *יְהוֹנָדָה*, on p. 59, is one of a considerable number which might have been omitted in order to make room for more of these applications of the prophetic teaching to our own day which were so instructive, suggestive, and helpful to the working minister.

The order in which Dr Smith places the books is very much that of Nowack. In one point he certainly improves on the latter; he puts Obadiah not in the fifth but in the sixth century B.C., on the ground that the writer would appear to have been an eye-witness of the fall of Jerusalem. Indeed, Professor Smith's whole treatment of Obadiah is so fresh and sane, that we would place these chapters among the most successful in the book. Nowhere have the relations of Israel and Edom been dealt with with more insight. Nowhere has Professor Smith's power of throwing imaginative light upon a moral and spiritual situation been more signally exhibited. The treatment of Jonah is also in the highest degree successful, and with its relegation to post-exilic time everyone would be inclined to agree. But to make it the very last of the prophets, to suppose that it was written in the Greek period immediately before the prophetic canon was closed, seems to raise serious difficulties. The main end of the

book is to soothe away by "truth embodied in a tale" the bitter feeling towards the heathen which Israel was too apt to feel, but which broke out into special fury in captivity and exile. Now, if Jonah was written about or after 300, there seems no special reason for hatred against foreign people. On the contrary, Israel had lived peacefully under Persian dominion, and though now it suffered from the chances of war, there was nothing to bring the feeling against foreigners as such to a point when a protest like Jonah would be necessary. It is further difficult to believe that Jonah, had it been so late, would have got into the canon. The Pharisaic spirit was probably already stirring, and the Pharisaic party had much to do with the final fixing of the canon. A *new* book teaching tolerance would have had no chance. If, on the contrary, Jonah represents an effort to soften the mind of the exiled Israelites, and had been acknowledged in the Persian time, everything would be clear—except perhaps the character of the language. But is that alone decisive, seeing that this was more of a popular book than any other in the Scriptures?

But differences of opinion on such matters cannot obscure the power and attractiveness of this book. There appears to be only one serious deduction to be made. Professor Smith in this volume reiterates his rejection of the promise at the end of Amos, and implicitly reaffirms his former position that the prophecies of Amos are prophecies of despair. Now to many that implies a very serious failure to understand Hebrew Prophecy, and one very difficult to suppose in a writer like Professor Smith. For he himself calls attention to the fact that the Prophets felt that they stood in a succession, that they were divinely inspired to carry on the advance of the Kingdom of God; and yet he believes that the first of the great writing prophets thought the divine anger was about to destroy the very people for whom and through whom they were to work! In that case the popular belief in the certainty that they would be delivered, was truer than the prophet's view. Moreover, Amos knew J, which was a history written in the prophetic spirit. In it the call of Israel to be a witness to all nations is reiterated five several times, in the statement that in Abraham's seed all nations, all families, of the earth should be blessed, or should bless themselves. Up to the time of Amos that can hardly be said to have been the case. How then can Amos have thought that the national career was soon to end? We believe, therefore, that Amos did conclude his prophecy with a promise, and Professor Smith's verdict to the contrary is an indication that the highest and most spiritual element in Prophecy has not quite come to its rights even in his writings.

A. HARPER.

**Blass's Euangelium secundum Lucam.**

*Euangelium secundum Lucam sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Prior. Secundum Formam quae videtur Romanam edidit Fridericus Blass. Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1897; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. 120. Price, M.4.*

THIS work is the natural and necessary sequel to its author's well-known edition of *The Acts*, and is at least its equal in interest and importance. The publication of that volume called forth more than one adverse criticism, and Dr Blass here devotes several pages of his Preface to an examination and refutation of these opinions, giving most attention to Corssen, the most courteous of his foemen and the most worthy of his steel; whose view, however, that the Roman version of Acts must be ascribed to a Montanist author, is not thought capable of serious maintenance. In another section referring to Acts the Editor confirms Nestle's discovery of an Aramaic original of caps i.-xii. In these chapters the Aramaic periphrasis for the Imperf. and Fut., made by a participle and the verb *ἤμην* (*ἔσομαι*), occurs no less than seventeen times. Vestiges of this usage crop out here and there in the remainder of the book, a significant instance being xxii. 19, in Paul's Aramaic speech. Other Aramaisms are the use of *ἐν τῷ* + Infin., instead of the Gen. Absol. or a temporal clause; *ἐν* instrumental; and *ἐναντίον*, *ἐνώπιον*, *ἀπὸ προσώπου*. This document came into Luke's hands when he was busy with his Gospel. He had it translated, and added to it at Rome his own record of Paul's life.

But the main interest of the work lies of course in the conclusions of its author respecting "the former treatise" of Luke, and his main argument is thus summed up: "*Binis formis et Acta Lucae et euangelium tradita sunt, altera ut videtur Romana, altera fortasse Antiochena. Antiquior est evangelii Antiochena, Actorum Romana.*" Following the "revised chronology," it was about 54 A.D. that Luke accompanied Paul to Judea and Jerusalem. In the interval that had elapsed since the Council of Jerusalem there had been great changes. Then, if not all the apostles, at least Peter and John had been in evidence; now all had departed, and James—not originally an apostle, nor "a witness" (Acts i. 8), ruled the Church. Written Aramaic accounts of the life of Jesus had succeeded the living voice of the apostles, and these were not only many copies of one work, but represented several authors (Luke i. 1). During the two years' stay at Caesarea Luke had ample opportunity of collecting and collating these narratives, and, wishing Theophilus and his friends to enjoy the same advantage as the Christians of

Judea enjoyed, he conceived the design of writing in Greek a worthier account of the facts than had yet been published. The archetype of this evangel has perished, but there were two recensions; the first, made immediately and sent to Theophilus; the second, made after a little time from the same archetype, and given to the Romans. The first was the more faithful to what was first written, the second was somewhat fuller.

The main objection to this very early date is, of course, "the greater definiteness of the prophecies respecting the destruction of Jerusalem as given by Luke, when compared with the records of them in Mark and Matthew." But we are reminded that if Savonarola in 1496 predicted the sack of Rome in 1527, and even foretold the transformation of the city temples into stables for the horses of the barbarous invaders, it was at least equally possible for Jesus to circumstantially predict the disasters which were to come upon Jerusalem. Luke was no theological corrector of the different statements of Matthew and Mark. They were Jews, and could not with open eyes gaze on what these dreadful predictions foretold; nor would it have been safe for them to speak openly even if they could. But Luke, the impartial historian, speaks more plainly.

Dr Blass does not think that our Greek Mark was among Luke's sources; the verbal agreements are so few and by no means free from doubt. And that Luke knew no Gospel by Matthew is evident from his exordium, for when he contrasts the apostles who had seen and spoken with those others who had written, he would certainly have mentioned a writing bearing an apostolic name if such were known to him.

One of the most interesting sections of the Preface is that which the Editor devotes to a detailed examination of the exordium of the Gospel. By giving ἀνατάξασθαι its correct force ("to compile from memory"), and refuting Harnack's opinion that οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται κ.τ.λ. implies the death of all these eye-witnesses, he shows how minutely the testimony of Luke agrees with that of Papias (concerning Mark, Eus. iii. 39), as to the origin of the written gospel. For the memories are not of things which the compilers had themselves seen, but of things which they had heard the apostles narrate. Perhaps the ἄνωθεν hints that others had not begun at the beginning (Mark, e.g.), and the καθεξῆς, that others had in Luke's opinion been lacking in this point. But καθεξῆς is hardly the same as the τάξει, which Papias says Mark did not write, for Luke's chronological order is even less than Mark's, and we miss also the art of arrangement exhibited by Luke in the Acts. καθεξῆς should be interpreted by its use in Acts xi. 4, i.e., as "omnia ex ordine, nulla re praetermissa."



The first two chapters of the Gospel seem due to some author who used the sacred Hebrew tongue. The Hebraistic colouring is here so abundant and so clear that we are at once reminded of the Septuagint, and Dr Blass suggests that its author may have been a priest, (1) because of Acts vi. 7; (2) because the narrative begins with Zacharias. But the evangelist introduces his own pen into the translation, so that the Hebrew colouring gets fainter in the second chapter, and one cannot say exactly where it ends.

A careful examination of the Marcionite readings, embalmed especially in Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem*, leads the Editor to the conclusion that this so-called heretic used the Roman form of the Lucan Gospel, though perhaps by this time it had been abridged in some places, and conformed to the other and older version. Following, with one or two slight changes, the Ferrarian cursives, the well-known *pericopa de adultera* is inserted after xxi. 38. Marcion does not seem to know of this passage, but he could hardly have approved of a section which seemed to decline to judge adultery, and so it should, in Blass's opinion, be referred to the Roman form of the third Gospel.

It is impossible, in the space at our disposal, to follow the Editor through his sketch of the state in which the other three Gospels have been handed down to us (Matthew has the honour of having reached us in the simplest form, though even it is not quite exempt from interpolation), and the various witnesses to the Roman form of Luke—uncial, cursive, patristic, Syriac. One or two points in the text may, however, be glanced at. In xi. 2 we read, "(When ye pray) use not vain repetitions as *the others*, for they think that they will be heard for their much speaking." Both Resch and Nestle deny that this is an interpolation from Matthew, and so Blass accepts it. Who are "the others"? According to the context, they must be the Pharisees and the disciples of John the Baptist, the severity of which view is rendered less startling by a comparison of v. 33 *sq.* But why is this prohibition not found in the Antiochene form? Because Luke, writing in Palestine, would not wish to offend John's disciples; but at Rome he was under less constraint. Similarly, to avoid offending Jews, the Antiochene form omits vi. 5b ("On the same day, observing a man working on the Sabbath, he said to him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou dost not know, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law'"), while the Roman form inserts it. The Lord's Prayer itself runs thus: "Father, hallowed be Thy Name, Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" (Greg. Nys., cod. 700—a trace of which is seen, perhaps, in the "Thy kingdom come *upon us*," of D.). "Give us day by day . . . and lead us not into temptation." In iii. 22



he adopts the reading, *υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, and criticises Resch's view that this is an obvious Jewish interpolation, perhaps by Ariston of Pella.

The whole work is full of suggestion and interest, and Dr Blass candidly invites the fullest criticism of his positions. Among those who have already examined his views is Graefe, to whose article in *Studien und Kritiken* attention has been drawn in the *Expository Times* for December 1897.

A. J. GRIEVE.

### **Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome.**

*By H.M. & M.A.R.T. Part I.: The Christian Monuments of Rome.*  
*London: Adam & Charles Black, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. xi.*  
*547. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THE present volume is the first instalment of a guidebook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome. The second volume will treat of the Liturgy in Rome (it has just appeared), the third of Monasticism in Rome and Ecclesiastical Rome. We believe there is room for such a work. Murray's Rome and Baedeker's Rome contain, it is true, packed within their pages, a wondrous amount of accurate and well-arranged information on Early Christian Rome. But they are guidebooks to Rome—Pagan as well as Christian—and the excision of much interesting Early Christian lore must be performed in such works in the interest of the paramount necessity of portability. So that he who has sought an answer to the many inquiries on matters historical, doctrinal, liturgical, ecclesiological, ecclesiastical, that were suggested to him by what he saw and heard of the diversified life, ceremonial, and activities of Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome, must have often felt the want of some concise and 'pocketable' cyclopaedia of reference devoted to Christian Rome exclusively. Of such a desirable *vade-mecum* we have the promise, in this the first instalment of it.

The *primā facie* presumption that the authors are members of the Roman communion seems raised to a certainty by such statements as the following:—

Page 38: "The penny catechism says: 'We do not pray to relics or images, for they can neither see, nor hear, nor help us.'"

Page 52 (*re* excavations at the Vatican cemetery): "In a sepulchral chamber at a still lower level (than the sarcophagus of Linus) the sarcophagus of Peter (the Apostle) with the gold cross of Constantine upon it was seen by Cardinals Bellarmine . . . but was again walled up for fear of profanation." [Who is there who

reads this and does not think of the covetings—or misgivings—of Museumism !! ]

Page 68: "The cost of building St Peters amounted to £10,000,000, "and it was to meet this enormous expense that Julius II. and Leo "X. resorted to the sale of indulgences which, through the evil zeal "of Tetzels, produced so immense a scandal in Germany, and became "one of the causes of the religious movements of that century."

The authors then, we take it, are members of the Roman communion, and thus have for their work the initial advantages of sympathy and circumstance:—of sympathy: whatever is, in the history, or creed, or practice of their Church at its visible centre on the banks of the Tiber, is to them truth, and is worth the pains of knowing accurately:—of circumstance: as owning the Latin obedience, they breathe the learned atmosphere of Christian Rome, and they have enjoyed especial opportunities for attaining to exact knowledge of that whereof they speak. Does their book, then, on the Monuments of Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome show the scholarship which we expect as the outcome of such advantages for the work as H.M. and M.A.R.T. enjoy? We regret to say that we think not.

Of the merits of the book we shall speak afterwards: we proceed at present to note some of the errors of scholarship which occur in the volume. P. 39: The inscription which should read  $\Xi\text{AN}\Theta\text{I}\Pi\Pi\text{H}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{M}\text{N}\text{H}\Sigma\text{T}\text{E}\ \Gamma\text{P}\text{H}\Gamma\text{O}\text{P}\text{E}\text{I}$  is rendered 'Xantippe always watches.' Surely it is an acclamation, and to be rendered; 'Xanthippe, ever-remembered, watch.' P. 51, we read: "for so Caius, the contemporary of Eusebius, talks of it in his dispute with the Montanists at the beginning of the third century." But this Caius was a priest in Rome in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome [202-220], Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 25, and therefore could not be a contemporary of Eusebius, who died in 340 A.D., and whose floruit must thus be dated from the *end* of the third century. This Caius the priest is evidently confused with Caius or Gaius, the Bishop of Rome [283-296], who was thus a contemporary of Eusebius. P. 117: "an exact copy of the thirteenth century Mosaic, which was destroyed by the fire, is placed on the arch" (*i.e.*, of the tribune in the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mura). But there is here a confusion between the tribune *apse* mosaic, which is of thirteenth century, and the tribune *arch* mosaic, which was erected by Leo the Great in middle of fifth century. P. 379 (*a propos* of literature on the catacombs), we read: "and in our own day Padre "Marchi's most celebrated pupil, John Baptist de Rossi, has com- "pleted the work the former had hoped to accomplish, and in three "great volumes, leaving material for a fourth, has given us the com- "plete collection of all the Christian inscriptions yet found, these "amounting to 11,000, up to the end of the sixth century." There

is here an extraordinary confusion between De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea* in three folio volumes, with the material for the fourth (of which, by the courtesy of one of the editors, we saw recently in Rome, the plates), and his *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, which, in two folio volumes (with material for a third, upon which Prof. Gatti of Rome is engaged), contains all the *dated* Roman Christian inscriptions. P. 409, we read: "in the symbol A $\omega$ , K is sometimes substituted for the "A, but whether from negligence or with some special significance we "do not know." This is a mistake: we have found this error to arise from strange misreading of the inscription, which is given again at p. 532: CRESCENTIAN | VIXSE ANNVS II | ET MESIS IIII | DEPOSITVS |  $\omega$  \* K. What the inscription says is: DEPOSITVS | VI \* K, i.e., 'buried the 6th day before the kalends' of a month which, strange to say, is not specified, as is remarked by Prof. Marucchi (*Cimitero e Basilica di San Valentino*, p. 72), from which volume they have obtained this inscription, since they reproduce his other comments upon it. P. 416: 'Sabbati dulcis anima' is not 'the sweet soul of Sabbatus,' but 'O Sabbatius, sweet soul.' There are several such mistranslations of the vocatives of proper names in—ius. P. 445, we read: "Eutychius the Pope [283] was also buried here and the *carmen* of Damasus has been recovered." This is a confusion between Pope Eutychianus, who is buried in the Camera Papale in the Callixtus Catacomb, and Eutychius, who was never Pope, but is known only as a martyr, and to this martyr the Damasine inscription is dedicated. P. 447: *a propos* of the representation of the ox and the ass in sculptures of the Nativity, it is stated that "a sarcophagus "in the Lateran Museum with the consular date A.D. 342 [this should "be 343] has a similar representation." This is not so: unfortunately this precious fragment [not 'a sarcophagus'], with PLACIDO ET ROMULOCOSS incised on it, has long been lost. The writer searched in vain for it on his last visit to Rome. It never was in the Lateran, as (after fruitless search in the Museum) we found in De Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, Anno. A.D. 343, where it is cited from 'Cod. Barb.,' etc. Pp. 492-493: Acilius Glabrio is given variously as 'Ac. Glabrionus'! and 'Acilius Glabrionius'! In a footnote we read: "Magnus Acilius Glabrionus was Consul with Trajan, A.D. 95." This should read: 'Manius Acilius Glabrio was Consul with Trajan in 91 A.D.'

Other errors we have noted which come under a different category in this respect that they are errors which have been reproduced from Armellini's *Antichi Cimiteri Cristiani di Roma e d'Italia* (one of the main sources of the present volume). Thus at p. 50 the woodcut, which, as our cast from the original shows, gives quite an inaccurate picture of the beautiful Early Christian sarcophagus, (formerly in the Campana collection, now in the Louvre), is

from Armellini's *Cimiteri*, p. 531. P. 304 : The inscription reproduced below [see on p. 498] is given here and in Armellini (*Chiese di Roma*, p. 592) as of year 337 A.D. It should be 377. The reference, likewise, is given wrongly in Armellini and in the present vol., *Inscr. Christ.* I. 831. It should be, I. No. 262, p. 124. P. 440 : The Greek cross at the foot of the inscription ΡΟΥΦΙΝΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ is not floriated, as the authors give it after Armellini, but a plain cross, as the writer has verified from a cast of the same, and as may be seen in De Rossi. To make it a floriated cross is to misdate by centuries the inscription, which is one of the earliest. P. 453, we find : "The loculus is intact." This is not so. The inscription was long since removed from the loculus and placed in the Lateran Museum, Compartment xix. No. 10, as we find from a cast of it here. This error arises from a misinterpretation of Armellini (*Cimiteri*, p. 400). P. 498 : Armellini's errors, in transcription, and in transposition of lines 1 and 2, are reproduced in the following inscription, of which we give a correct copy from our cast of it.

CINNAMIUS OPAS LECTOR TITVLI FASCIOLÆ AMICVS PAUPERVM  
QUI VIXIT ANN · XLVI · MENS · VII · D · VIII DEPOSIT IN PACE · X · KAL MART ·  
GRATIANO IIII ET MEROBAYDE CONSS.

We would not expect of the authors to go to the Monastery at San Paolo fuori le Murà, upstairs in the corridor, and verify their transcript of the inscription from the original 'incastrated' in the wall there, but we *would* expect of them to consult De Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianæ* for this dated inscription. And one would think from the footnote at page 304 that they had done so. There they refer to this inscription : De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* I. No. 831. But the reference is taken from Armellini (*Chiese*, p. 592), as it is a wrong reference. If they had consulted De Rossi at the proper place, they would have been rewarded by finding an accurate transcript to reproduce, not a transcript with the lines arranged topsy-turvy, and two errors in transcription, all of which they reproduce, with an additional error of their own, here ;—also, at p. 304 (*vide supra*) two additional errors, reproduced from Armellini. P. 504, we find : (perhaps the Temple of Jovis (*sic*) Capitolinus). At p. 510 we find a significant error. In following Armellini they fall with him into a mistake which, pardonable in an Italian, (who, indeed, will invariably pronounce the name in question just as it is here mis-spelt), is quite otherwise in English Roman Catholics. Armellini, *Cim. di Roma*, p. 438 : "Ivi trovò anche il loculo reso celebrato dal Weismann in cui si legge l'umile epitaffio di una donna di nome Pollecla della quale si dice che vendeva l'orzo sulla via nuova" [epitaph follows]. This is reproduced by H.M. and M.A.R.T. thus :—"He also found the

loculus rendered celebrated by Weismann, &c." One would have thought that H.M. and M.A.R.T., feeling the responsibility of publicly professing to be experts on this subject, would have been anxious to know who this 'Weismann' was, who, they tell the reader, had 'rendered celebrated' this humble woman, and where he had done so. Is it the German Weismann who writes on 'Heredity,' or who is it? They are not aware that the reference is to the well-known Early Christian historical romance *Fabiola* (Part ii. Chap. i.) by their own Cardinal Wiseman !!! There is unfortunately a good deal of such falsetto scholarship in this volume. What one is at first disposed to accept, in text and footnotes, as evidence of personal research is really taken mainly from two volumes, Armellini's *Cimiteri di Roma* (pp. v. 780) and his *Chiese di Roma* (pp. xi. 998). The writers are always quoting De Rossi—either his *Roma Sott.*, or his *Inscrr. Christianæ*, or his *Bullettino*, but almost invariably the same reference is found in the same context in Armellini. Indeed, there is proof to show that in many cases they merely quote Armellini's quotation of these authorities: see e.g. on p. 498 above. Consultation of these authorities would have saved the writers from most of the errors already noted and from many more which we cannot spare the space to enumerate.

Further, at the pages denoted we find the following footnotes:—

P. 115: Acta Visit. Sub. Urb. viii. P. 215: This church was consecrated on May 26, 1128, as we learn from Psalter 175 in the Vat. archives. P. 224: A copy exists in the library of the Collegio Romano and another in the Vatican: Cod. Vat. 7847. P. 243: Vat. Arch. De Eccl. Urbis Julii Rosei de Horte. P. 255: Vat. Arch.: Stato temp. delle Chiese, ii. p. 254. These learned footnotes naturally impress one, and suggest profound research among Vatican archives; but they are one and all taken from Armellini, though it is in no case said so.

Again, p. 191, there are five footnotes, which we transcribe:—

\* Cod. Sess., cclxii, p. 19. Teuzo Abb. ven. monasterii S. Mariæ Dei Genitricis Virg. in Capitolio.

† Petrus Mallius *Abbazie Romane*.

‡ Gregorovius suggests "auro coelo" as the origin of the name; Niebuhr and Becker that it is derived from "in arce."

§ *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 12.

|| Chronicon Palatinum nello Spicil. Rom., ix. 118.

These are all likewise taken tacitly from the corresponding context in Armellini (*Chiese di Roma*, pp. 540, 541). Again at p. 265 we have four footnotes of which the same is to be said (Arm., *Chiese*, pp. 459-461); p. 47, four footnotes out of five transferred from Marucchi's *Memorie dei Santi Apostoli*, pp. 29, 30, 31; p. 52, four

out of five from the same work, at pp. 37, 38: the fifth from Armellini's *Chiese*, p. 696. Elsewhere throughout the work we have noted similar learned references from Armellini, though the *provenance* of these references is not stated. We venture to hold that such wholesale conveyance to their pages, of references to such recondite lore, from an Italian source not indicated, is disingenuous. The writing of a learned page, and the credit of doing it, are not to be achieved so cheaply, as here. The above references cannot be considered as *loci communes*, as common literary property, and to be used as such. They are notes which were laboriously extricated from the strata of lore in MS. and in print, in the Vatican and elsewhere, by a scholar whose recent premature death was, we testify, much regretted in Early Christian circles in Rome. Surely the ethics of authorship required that H.M. and M.A.R.T. should have said somewhere and somehow, in respect of such learned references, 'where they got them.' Not only the footnotes but also the text follows Armellini too closely. Thus in the introduction to *The Catacombs*, pp. 366-386, nine-tenths of the text is simply a paraphrase of passages in the valuable introduction to Armellini's *Cimiteri*. Compare, *e.g.*, the following:—at p. 376 of the vol. under review we read: "But the city and its suburbs were by this time  
"reduced to squalor, the faith was lukewarm in the Roman  
"Christians, a barbarian population was superimposed on the ancient,  
"these things, the sacking of the Campagna and the invasions of  
"Rome, together with the new uses and customs, all lent their aid  
"to forgetfulness of the catacombs, and finally to their total abandon-  
"ment." The counterpart in Armellini, *Cim.*, p. 135, is:—"ma  
"le invasioni, i saccheggi della campagna, lo squallore a cui era  
"ridotta la città e il suburbio, la fede scossa degli abitanti di Roma  
"a cui era sovrapposta una popolazione barbarica, i nuovi usi e tante  
"altre cagioni aveano ormai fatto dimenticare ai romani i loro  
"antichi cimiteri ove andava cessando ogni culto ove per effetto  
"dell' abbandono diuturno tutto accennava a ruina, ove le tombe  
"dei martiri giaceano negletta in quei luoghi ormai deserti."

In fact Armellini's two volumes are the backbone of the book.

Thus with respect to the Churches, all that is "less generally known," which the authors say in the preface, they "have elected to tell," is derived from Armellini. We had made out a list of such items of recondite lore, but we must abridge. And so with the Catacombs. If the authors had only "elected to tell," not only *sparsim* and sparingly in the text, as noted immediately, but in the preface, where they had found ready to their hand "what is less generally known," one would have been more satisfied. H.M. and M.A.R.T. indeed acknowledge these two volumes by naming them in their *List of Books Consulted*. Also in the text, Armellini's



*Chiese* is named at pp. 95, 214, 275, 280, 335 ; his *Cimiteri* at pp. 168, 373, 375, 376, 412, 457, 499. But we venture to think that they should have brought out into the due prominence, on the Title-page, or, at least, in the Preface, their acknowledgment of the invaluable help which they have derived from these volumes—volumes which have been constantly at their elbow and in great part simply shifted into the present work.

As to misprints, we have no space to enumerate those which met the eye. Note however: p. 129 (footnote) 'moulds' should be 'models.' P. 140: The eminence, which, until the time of Benedict XIV. lay between the Lateran and Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme and on which were cultivated the garlic and the onions (*cipolle*), which, in mediæval times, formed a characteristic feature of the Festival of St John, was called Monte Cipollaro, not 'Cipolanno,' as at p. 140; nor 'Cipollano' as in the *Corrigenda* on p. xii. P. 442, we have as a word occurring in an inscription: "NEOΘΩTIMOC 'recently illuminated, i.e. baptized.'" This is a misprint for NEOΦΩTIMOC as given in Armellini, *Cim.*, p. 394: after De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* [But there is no such Greek word as NEOΦΩTIMOC, so far as we are aware, and meaning 'recently illuminated or baptized'; so it is perplexing to find De Rossi flinging his ægis over such a miscreated vocable. Our cast of that inscription reads, we think, NEOΦΩTIC. This is not for NEOΦΩTICTOC (= newly illuminated), as an examination of the cast shows that the stone is not broken off at that point: it must be a misspelling of NEOΦΥTOC, neophyte. If we pronounce these words with the accent, this explanation of the itacism suggests itself.]

Of the merits of the book we have much pleasure in speaking. It is brought well up to date: it is abreast of the latest excavations in church or catacomb, e.g., in Church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, Sta. Sabina on the Aventine, in the cemeteries of S. Domitilla, S. Priscilla, and elsewhere. We find a desideratum supplied in the *résumé* (which follows the description of each church) of the lore—legendary, historic, emblematico-artistic—which attaches to its titular saint: Apostle, Doctor of the Church, Virgin, or Martyr. All of this kind in the book is good, but we may specify the account given of St Agnes at p. 165; of the Apostles, 187-190; of St Cecilia, 210-213; of St Gregory the Great, 248-251. Pages 1-45 show consultation of authorities other than those referred to above.

The book has nineteen illustrations; of these the plans are the best. The others should be omitted, because of no importance and from bad originals—especially, the smudges (representing coarse Early Christian seals) on p. 407, and the woodcuts on pp. 50, 153, 405. These disfigure the book, and to seek their insertion is to do an injustice to the eminent firm who have got up the book so attractively.

A. PATERSON.



**Studies of the Mind in Christ.**

*By Rev. Thomas Adamson, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 300. Price, 4s. 6d.*

THIS book deals with a subject of supreme importance and immediate urgency. The dominant theological tendency of the present day has been fitly described as the Return to Christ. As the literary and historical criticism of the Holy Scriptures has challenged their infallible authority, the final appeal has been carried to the infallible Christ. But on the other hand this appeal has been used against criticism. Christ's use of Deuteronomy in His temptation, His employment of the story of Jonah in illustration of His own experience, His reference in controversy to David's authorship of the 110th Psalm, all these have been brought forward as instances of Christ's contradiction of the conclusions of criticism. This argument must be admitted valid, unless it can be shown that all such questions were beyond the range of Christ's absolute knowledge, and His answers are therefore not covered by His infallible authority. It is a practical question of the first importance, whether the infallible authority of Christ must be accepted without any modification by the limitation of His knowledge, or may be recognised with such a modification. But it is evident the admission of such a limitation in Christ's knowledge raises the larger problem of the mode of the Incarnation; and the solution of the problem in turn must affect very seriously the view taken of His work. In dealing then with the question of the character and the extent of Christ's knowledge this book takes up a subject which "must ever take rank as of first value" (p. vii.).

It is a genuine pleasure to be able to testify that it deals with the subject worthily. The scholarship is competent; the thought is conspicuously able; the arrangement is orderly; the style is clear and interesting, distinguished frequently by striking felicities of expression; the spirit is courageous as well as reverent, candid as well as sympathetic. The method of treatment adopted is the only one that can possibly yield valuable results, which can claim both certainty and permanence. It is an inductive treatment of all the facts about *the mind in Christ* which the records of the Gospels offer for our acceptance, without any assumptions or prejudices. Besides fulfilling its immediate purpose, this examination of the story of Jesus yields many an interesting suggestion regarding the meaning and the worth of Jesus' words and works. An account of the contents of the book will justify this commendation, and will prepare for such criticism of it as seems necessary and warranted. The first chapter deals with *Christ's Ignorance*,

examining very thoroughly and carefully all the evidence that the Gospels afford for the conclusion, "that, as a rule at least, Christ's knowledge, like that of other men, was limited by His faculties, and that practically what knowledge He possessed He gained in the ordinary way" (p. 23). His confession of ignorance "regarding that day or that hour," His asking questions for information, His surprise, disappointment, and other recorded similar emotions, His use of His senses to gain knowledge of what was going on around Him, His dependence on the intimations of others regarding things done in His absence—these are the evidences produced. The second chapter discusses the instances of *Christ's Supernatural Knowledge*. According to the writer, "these cases are—(1) Christ's first meeting with Peter; (2) His finding Philip; (3) His first interview with Nathanael; (4) His statement to the woman of Samaria; (5) His directions as to the draught of fishes, ere he called His disciples to follow Him; (6) the knowledge of Lazarus's death and resurrection; (7) obtaining the ass's colt, and (8) the upper room for the last passover; (9) His prediction of Peter's denial, and (10) of martyrdom; and (11) His prediction of the fate of Jerusalem" (p. 25). Accepting the records as equally trustworthy, it seems to me that the writer proves in regard to all his cases, except the seventh and eighth, which I am still inclined to hold "can be explained on purely natural principles," that Christ had "more than the knowledge an unaided man could have obtained" (p. 24). In the third chapter, under the heading of *Christ's apparent Supernatural Knowledge*, a number of instances of Christ's insight into the moral and spiritual condition of others are discussed in order to show that these need not be described as supernatural knowledge, but "may all be disposed of more or less easily in another way, a way that is more natural, and, I think, also more wonderful—by the marvellous perfection of Christ's spiritual faculties" (p. 50)—"the knowledge which Christ had of human motives, and the skill which He had in analysing them" (p. 53). Among the persons in regard to whom Jesus is mentioned as having displayed this insight, are Zacchæus, His Pharisee host Simon, Judas Iscariot, and on various occasions His disciples and His opponents. In the two instances first noted here, I am still uncertain whether we must not assume a supernatural knowledge. Christ's responsibility for "the effect of certain acts," the destruction of the swine of Gadara, and the suicide of Judas is next discussed in the light of the view reached of the limitation of His knowledge. The Apostles' assumption of His omniscience is then accounted for and their general attitude defined. In the fourth chapter, *Christ's Divine Knowledge* is described as "His knowledge of Himself and His work as

Saviour" (p. 76). The *epourania* or heavenly truths of which Jesus claims knowledge, "primary and not imparted" (p. 79), are said to "represent the mind of Heaven (1) according as that is embodied in Christ; (2) as it can be traced back to the Father; and (3) as it points on to judgment" (p. 80). Then follows the usual proof of Jesus' consciousness of His divinity, and of His possession of those truths about Himself, God's love, and the world's judgment, which necessarily accompany such consciousness. In the fifth chapter, *Christ's Spiritual Knowledge*, the application of this knowledge of the *epourania* to His knowledge and His action generally is traced. A development of this divine knowledge is recognised (p. 98) as accompanying His growth, but it is said "from the moment of His baptism" to have been "perfectly clear and definite" (p. 99); yet "His authority in spiritual matters rested in fact, not on His being God, but on the ripe experience He had as perfect man ever filled with the Spirit" (p. 101). He deduced earthly truths from the heavenly (p. 102); but in this deduction was guided by "His *own* experience and His intercourse with men" (p. 107). "His ethical views were formed by great principles on spiritual lines" (p. 112). In dealing in the sixth chapter with *Christ's Knowledge of the Old Testament* the facts emphasised are His "minute and extensive acquaintance with it" (p. 113), His study of it to procure "spiritual principles" (p. 115), His recognition of "the unity of the Book" (p. 117), His "clear conception of the advance of history" (p. 118), His discovery of "a definite purpose present from the first" (p. 121), His conscious application of its predictions to Himself, and His voluntary fulfilment of them (p. 123), the aptness of His quotations (p. 126), yet the freedom of His treatment of its teaching and His judgment on its imperfections (p. 129). His statements about literary questions are admitted to represent the current opinion, and not to be invested with His distinctive authority (p. 137-8). The title of the seventh chapter, *The Roundedness of Christ's Knowledge*, which the writer admits he has used "for want of a better" (p. 140), gives no adequate indications of its contents or purpose. Here he seeks to show that the knowledge of Jesus "was fused into an organic whole by connection with His personality" (p. 140). The course of this learned and able argument cannot be here traced, but its conclusion must be briefly stated. Christ had a knowledge of Himself as divine, not by any inference drawn from His sinlessness or His love for God and man, nor as a result of any outward circumstances, but in virtue of His nature, as soon as His human development admitted such a consciousness (p. 159). As this knowledge was not "a mere reminiscence of the past," but "a direct consciousness of the present" (p. 163), it admitted alike "the possibility of temptation

and the possibility of victory" (p. 166). The unity of His consciousness was constituted by faith, "the supremacy of conscience, or of God's will" (p. 168). Although one would gladly linger on this interesting study, yet the limits of space forbid, and one must be content with merely indicating the contents of the remaining four chapters. In dealing in the eighth chapter with *Christ's Knowledge of the Future*, the human natural character of much of it is asserted (p. 180), and the prophetic contents of His teaching are deduced from the general principles, moral and spiritual, which He held (p. 184). An intelligible explanation of His references to the fall of Jerusalem, the second coming, and the final judgment is given (p. 196 ff), and the treatment of the subject here compares favourably with that found in Schwartzkopff's *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*. The ninth chapter deals in a very suggestive way with *Christ's self-guidance*, the means of which He availed Himself throughout His ministry for ascertaining His Father's will (p. 208); and the tenth chapter unfolds *Christ's plan*, insisting very strongly, and altogether fitly, on the voluntariness of His death (p. 237), and His intention to die from the very beginning of His ministry (p. 255). The eleventh chapter deals with "some of the mental characteristics of Christ as a miracle worker," and notes His dependence on the Spirit for His power (p. 258), His practice of prayer and His exercise of faith (p. 264), His sympathy with suffering (p. 265), and His sacrifice for its removal (p. 280), His requirement of faith in the recipients (p. 275), and His submissiveness to God's will (p. 278). The last chapter seeks to prove "the mental identity of Christ after Resurrection."

It would be absurd to expect that the interpretation of each saying, and the explanation of each action of Jesus, given in a work covering so much ground as this does, should equally command assent; it would, however, be unprofitable to indicate the instances in which one is compelled to differ from the writer. Let it suffice to add a few brief comments on general features. First of all, it is to be regretted that the writer does not more distinctly state his position on the nature of the Incarnation. While chapter seventh aims at proving the organic unity of Jesus' knowledge, yet there are found here and there throughout the book passages which at least leave the door ajar for the slipping in of such a view as that put forward in Powell's *The Principle of the Incarnation*, that the dual nature implied a double consciousness, human ignorance, and divine omniscience. At page 4 the writer does not decisively reject Athanasius' explanation "that Christ was ignorant as man, though not as God." At the top of page 73 he appears to accept a theory of Kenosis; but at the foot of page 145 a double consciousness is asserted. A fuller treatment of the general problem would

doubtless have adequately explained these apparent inconsistencies. In the second place, it would have been decidedly an advantage if the practical aspects of the question had received a more explicit treatment. At page 136 the writer does express himself very frankly on the bearing of Christ's authority on critical questions; and chapter eight puts us in a thoroughly satisfactory position for dealing with Christ's eschatological teaching; but one could have desired that such a question as demoniac possession had been fully dealt with in order to show whether it lay within or without the range of Christ's absolute knowledge, and so infallible authority. In the third place, there is an absence in this work of what may be called the comparative criticism of the evangelical records, such as adds so much to the interest and value of the works of Dr A. B. Bruce. In his preface the writer tells us that "the aim is not to criticise *the Gospels*" (viii.); but, unless he holds views of their inspiration and infallibility which his liberal theological position as indicated by this book does not lead one to expect, he is scarcely justified in dealing with John's Gospel just as he deals with the Synoptists, in appealing to statements by one of the Synoptists, in which he differs from the others, as though the authority of the Synoptic tradition were behind them, and in treating inferences by the evangelists as of equal authority with their reports. In chapter two, of the eleven cases of Christ's supernatural knowledge noted (p. 25), if we set aside for the reason already given the seventh and eighth cases, six cases are found in John's Gospel alone; one case is found in Luke alone, who here differs from Mark and Matthew, and shows resemblance to John (No. 5); one other case in the definiteness of its language has no parallel in Mark or Matthew, but stands alone in Luke (No. 11); and only one case (No. 9) the prediction of Peter's denial has the full Synoptic authority. Again, he admits the tendency of the disciples to ascribe omniscience to Christ (p. 72), but does not avail himself of that admission in dealing with several passages in John's Gospel, where we have inferences of the evangelists and not historical statements (ii. 23-25, p. 51; vi. 6, p. 8; vi. 70, 71, p. 250). This omission of all critical results must, even for those who hold a very moderate critical position, lessen the apologetic value of the work. In the fourth place, the attitude taken up by the writer of absolute opposition to all attempts to explain Christ's consciousness of divinity by a psychological process, will not generally commend itself. One may agree with him that to Christ "this knowledge came by the internal constitution of His person" (p. 159), and yet hold that it may have been mediated by a psychological process, even as our consciousness of personality, freedom, responsibility comes to us in an individual development, in which many factors

co-operate. Lastly, one seems warranted in offering a verbal criticism. The writer's use of the words *epourania* and *epigeia* is not to be commended or imitated; the A. V. *heavenly things* and *earthly things* would be preferable. While one is compelled to offer these critical comments on this work, yet one gladly closes with words of the heartiest commendation. It is a good book on a great subject.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

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**The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form and Matter.**

*By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. New Edition, carefully revised. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1897. Pp. lxxiii. 751. Price, 16s.*

THIRTY-TWO years after its first publication, the *Secret of Hegel* has passed into a second edition. And everyone interested in the progress of philosophy in this country will join in congratulating the veteran author on the circumstance that he has himself had the opportunity of re-editing and reissuing the book which has done more than any other single work to stimulate the higher metaphysical thinking of the last generation.

The alterations in the new edition are pretty frequent, but nowhere (so far as I have observed) of fundamental importance. Explanatory clauses and phrases have been added to the translation; there are a few new footnotes; some vigorous criticisms of Hamilton have been pruned away; and an occasional periphrasis has been substituted for the "plain word" of the first edition. One little bit of autobiography may be quoted from the preface to the new edition:

"As for Hegel, it was somewhat strange that seeing the name—while still at home and even without a dream of Germany—with surprise, for the first time, in a Review, I was somehow very peculiarly impressed by it. But the special magic lay for me in this,—that, supping with two students of German before I was in German as deep as they, I heard this Hegel talked of with awe, as, by universal repute, the deepest of all philosophers, but as equally, also, the darkest. The one had been asked to translate bits of him for the press; and the other had come to the belief that there was something beyond usual remarkable in him: it was understood that he had not only completed philosophy, but, above all, reconciled to philosophy Christianity itself. *That struck!*"

This passage brings out—what was indeed sufficiently obvious all along—that it was Dr Stirling's strong interest in the problems



of the spiritual life that first attracted him to Hegel, and that has dominated his whole philosophical activity. God, Freedom, Immortality are for him realities which Hegel has enabled him to grasp—not merely conceptions with different degrees of validity for thought. And his strong insistence on this positive attitude gives a permanent interest to his interpretation of Hegel.

His speculative point of view leads him also, in various ways and at various places, to pass current modes of reflection under review. And these criticisms are always full of interest, although they may not always show the same unerring insight. As an example, reference may be made to the economic disquisitions in the Conclusion. If they are no longer so necessary as they were a generation ago, that is because their substantial truth is now commonly recognised. On the other hand, lapse of time, and the reflection which has come with it, have not modified the author's unsympathetic attitude towards Darwin and all his works.

On these, as on other matters, there is no important change between the original and the present edition; and it is surely well to have the *Secret* preserved essentially as it appeared in 1865. Much, it is true, has been done in the interval to facilitate the study of Hegel. His historical antecedents have been carefully explained; his characteristic notions have been elucidated by application to familiar material; he has been approached from every possible point of view; and the student has been supplied with a set of formulæ whose use is perhaps only too easy and not a little deceptive. All that has been done by others in this direction Dr Stirling ignores. The student who stands on the threshold of Hegelian study cannot afford to do so; but, if he is wise, it will not be long before he turns to the *Secret*. For it is no disparagement of the labours of others to say that Dr Stirling's is the one book of the English Hegelian series which bears the unmistakable stamp of genius. Irregular in its plan, rugged in style, and often as dark as the "Secret" it professes to disclose, it is always genuine, virile, profound—the work of a man struggling with a great theme. The rugged directness of the style, with its bold coinage of phrases to suit the thought as it arises, its bursts of eloquence when a point of vantage is gained, its Titanic laughter when a favourite obstacle is rolled—or kicked—from the path: this gives a vividness and individuality to the performance, which can only be described as *Stirlingese*. And *Stirlingese*—if one analyses it—is the thought of Hegel in the style of Carlyle.

Only a strong man can use such a style. And it must be confessed that, strong man as Dr Stirling is, he has the defects of his qualities: that his harshness is often accentuated unnecessarily, and that his individuality sometimes sinks into egotism. But these are



only occasional blemishes. The author has laid firm hands on the thinking men of his time ; and, whatever changes of philosophical attitude the near future may bring, it will be long before the *Secret of Hegel* is allowed to pass into oblivion.

W. R. SORLEY.

### Theologische Studien.

*Herrn Professor D. Bernhard Weiss zu seinem 70. Geburtstage dargebracht von C. R. Gregory, Ad. Harnack, M. W. Jacobus, G. Koffmane, E. Kühl, A. Resch, O. Ritschl, Fr. Sieffert, A. Titius, J. Weiss, Fr. Zimmer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1897. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M.11.*

SOME disadvantages attend the modern method of celebrating the birthday of a Professor of Theology by the publication of a volume of Essays written by his colleagues and admirers. As the contents of such collections cannot be indicated by their titles, articles of permanent interest may easily be overlooked, whilst their cost is considerably increased by the less important contributions which are printed with them. But the custom is becoming general, and Dr Otto Zöckler suggests that a special heading should be provided in Bibliographies for literature of this class. Many of the essays written in honour of Weizsäcker and Cremer are well-known to students, and there are some of equal value amongst the eleven articles contained in the volume recently published in celebration of the seventieth birthday of Dr Bernhard Weiss.

I. Dr Adolf Harnack contributes a short appreciation of "A Recently-discovered Narrative of the Resurrection," which was described by Carl Schmidt in the *Berliner Akademie-Berichten*, 1895. The document is in the Coptic language, and was found at Akhmim ; it is dated by Harnack 150-180, and contains an account of conversations which Jesus had with his disciples after the Resurrection, the Apostles speaking throughout in the first person plural. The unbelief of the disciples is strongly emphasised, and the narratives of the canonical Gospels are strangely interwoven with some remarkable variations ; for example, "Peter, lay thy finger in the nail-prints on my hands ; Thomas, lay thy finger in the spear-wound in my side ; Andrew, touch my feet." Harnack, who certainly does not under-estimate this document, nevertheless confesses that it furnishes little help towards the solution of the problem of the Resurrection-narratives ; in his view it is secondary, of anti-Gnostic origin, a literary composition in which the various features of the later tradition are skilfully blended.

II. Professor Jacobus, of Hartford, Conn., U.S.A., discusses critically "The citation, Ephesians v. 14, as affecting the Paulinity of the Epistle," but the worth of his argument depends upon the acceptance of his theory of the source of the quotation in the verse, "Wherefore *he* saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." The only objections urged against the view that the words are quoted from an early Christian hymn are that the theory is a purely speculative one, and that the poetic character of the fragment has never been proved. The Old Testament passages, which are usually regarded as the sources of the quotation are rejected, because they have no connection with the "principle of the reproof of evil," which is the leading thought in the verses which precede the citation. "Utterly foreign" to the thought of the Epistle is Isaiah lx. 1, which "is supposed to be the most probable source," whilst "the other passages which have been suggested have almost nothing to commend them." Professor Jacobus holds that Jonah i. 6, in the original Hebrew, is the true source, and shows that the idea of reproof of sin which the Apostle needed to illustrate his argument underlies the story. The citation is then shown to be distinctively Pauline in cast, as appears from "the spiritualisation of the Old Testament narrative, and the close reference of its spiritualised thought to the context in which it stands." The passage in Jonah has not, however, been completely overlooked hitherto; in the *Expositor's Bible*, Professor Findlay refers to the verses in the Old Testament, of which this snatch of an early Christian song is a free paraphrase, and adds, "perhaps there are echoes even of Jonah i. 6."

III. The authorship of a work which is ascribed to Luther in Walch's edition of the Reformer's writings is assigned to John Agricola by G. Koffmane. The inquiry has one element of general interest, for the author of the work in dispute comments upon I John v. 7, and the inference has been drawn that Luther had before him a Greek MS. containing the verse which mentions the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

IV. "The Pauline Theodicy" (Rom. ix.-xi.) is the title of an article in which Ernst Kühl carefully analyses the argument of St Paul with special reference to the views of Beyschlag and Karl Müller. Surprise is expressed that Beyschlag, in the second edition of a treatise originally published in 1868, has expressed no change of opinion, and has left unnoticed the work of theologians who have written on this theme during the last three decades. Kühl's polemic is mainly directed against Beyschlag's theory, according to which the key to the difficulties of Rom. ix.-xii. is found in the application of the Apostle's words not to any pre-

temporal acts of God, but to the Divine working in history, the freedom of the human will being assumed. In Kühl's view the central thought of the Epistle is expressed in ch. iii. 21-27, and with great force he urges that there the solution of problems furnished by later chapters must be sought. Stated briefly, his contention is that St Paul first shows how the hope of the Christian ultimately rests on the assurance of being one of those whom God in His free grace has chosen to lead to salvation, then in chapters ix.-xi. the apostle points out the bearing upon the Jewish nation of the great principle that in the work of salvation no man may glory in God's presence.

V. Of great interest and value to all students of the origin of the Gospels is the essay by Dr Alfred Resch, the well-known writer on the "Agrapha." It is entitled, "Τὰ Λόγια Ἰησοῦ = דְּבָרֵי יֵשׁוּעַ; a contribution to the study of the Synoptic Gospels."

A high tribute is paid to Dr Bernhard Weiss, to whom the volume is dedicated, and whose distinctive merit it is "to have further developed the 'Two-Sources' theory." The strict Two-Sources hypothesis assumed for the two main sources—the Ur-Evangelium and the Ur-Marcus—an equal originality, and accounted for the differences in the synoptic parallels of Matt. and Luke, by the different treatment of these two sources by the first and third Evangelists. Weiss fixed limits to the originality of Mark by showing his dependence on the Ur-Evangelium, the Apostolic Source, as he calls it; but, at the same time, he made fully manifest the profound influence exerted by the gospel of Mark on both its synoptic successors."

In the latter half of his essay Dr Resch gives an instructive *résumé* of his own extensive contributions to the criticism of the Gospels, describing his previous publications on the "Agrapha" and "Extra-canonical parallels to the Gospels" as only preparatory to the work which will shortly appear in which the "Logia" of Jesus will be published in Hebrew as well as in Greek. Resch re-affirms his conviction that the Ur-Evangelium was written in Hebrew and not in Aramaic, and protests against the confusing of the question "In what language did Jesus speak?" with the question "In what language was the Gospel first committed to writing?" As the title of this essay indicates, Resch holds that when Τὰ Λόγια Ἰησοῦ is translated into דְּבָרֵי יֵשׁוּעַ the meaning

of the phrase is unmistakable; the Hebrew words recall the titles of books which were the "sources" of the Old Testament history, e.g., 1 Chr. xxix. 29, "The History (דְּבָרֵי) of Samuel the Seer." Hence whatever ambiguity there may be as to the meaning of Τὰ Λόγια, there can be no doubt that the significance of

הַיְּהוּדִים is "histories" and not "sayings"; the Ur-Evangelium must therefore be a narrative of the deeds as well as a collection of the words of Jesus.

VI. Professor Otto Ritschl of Bonn writes on "Schleiermacher's Theory of Piety," his object being to show that according to Schleiermacher true piety consists of two factors. On the one hand, the changeful element of sensuous feeling which is the connecting link between the life of man and the world; and on the other hand, the constant element—the feeling of absolute dependence upon God, which alone can transmute the life of sensuous feeling into the life of piety.

VII. The longest essay in the volume is contributed by Professor Joh. Weiss of Marburg, the son of Dr B. Weiss, and is entitled "Materials for the Study of Pauline Rhetoric." In a few lines it is impossible to summarise an article of more than eighty pages, which deserves the attention of every student of St Paul's Epistles. Exegetes as well as textual critics, we are told, should "read with the ear"; for although St Paul's prose lacks the artistic quality which characterises the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is "in his more carefully written Epistles a certain rhetorical movement which arrests the attention and frequently produces an artistic effect." Professor Weiss is of opinion that in many places it is impossible to determine whether the Apostle was influenced by the forms of Hebrew-poetry, or by the devices of Greek rhetoricians. Examples of parallelism—synonymous, synthetic, and antithetic—are given, and this most suggestive article concludes with a detailed analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.

VIII. Professor F. Zimmer pleads for a more thorough study of the shorter Epistles of St Paul. In his judgment the Epistles to the Thessalonians deserve greater attention than they have received from exegetes; each verse should be explained and each word investigated. As an example of such study 1 Thess. ii. 3-5 is commented upon in detail. Zimmer thinks that St Paul was acquainted with and made use of the "Grundschrift" which underlies the Synoptic Gospels.

IX. The department of textual criticism is represented by Dr Caspar R. Gregory's article on "The cursive Manuscripts of the New Testament." A more comprehensive and systematic study of these later MSS. is necessary, if the older Uncials are to be more thoroughly understood and to be appreciated at their true value. The Academies of Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna should enlist bands of younger scholars to carry on—under carefully prepared regulations—the work of comparing the MSS., collating the texts, registering the various readings, &c.

X. "The relation of the words of the Lord in Mark's Gospel to the 'Logia' of Matthew" is discussed by Professor A. Titius of Kiel. After a detailed examination of the subject—in which, however, it is assumed that the "Two Sources" theory is now universally accepted—the result arrived at is that the writer of our Second Gospel knew and made use of the "Logia" of Matthew, but not Matthew's Gospel.

XI. The last essay on "The line of development in St Paul's teaching about the Law in his four principal Epistles" is by Professor F. Sieffert, of Bonn. It is a clear and forceful argument in reply to Carl Clemen, who, in his "Chronology of the Pauline Epistles," maintains that not only in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, but also in the Epistles to the Corinthians the Apostle's attitude towards the law is that of a Jewish-Christian; that his polemic against the law begins in the Epistle to the Romans, and is most fully developed in the Epistle to the Galatians. Sieffert shows that this view is untenable, that in essentials St Paul's position in regard to the law is the same in his four chief Epistles, and that on external grounds it is impossible to place the Epistle to the Galatians so near in time to the Epistles of the Captivity.

J. G. TASKER.

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**A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology.**

*Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Volume I., A—Feasts. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 4to, pp. xv. 863. Price, 28s.*

THE publication of this book is perhaps the most notable event in the record of theological literature for the quarter. It is important both for the compass and the quality of its contents, and for the opportunity which it provides for measuring the distance travelled by theological science since the last great Dictionary of the Bible was issued. It has been looked for with curious expectancy for some time. Now that it has appeared it will be found, we think, to answer the anticipations which have been formed of it, and will soon be seen to be a timely, trusty, and most valuable guide. Nor has there been any undue delay in its preparation or awkward change in its plan, as has unfortunately been the case with some

other ventures of the kind. One of the most remarkable things about it is the steady progress of the work and the very reasonable space of time within which the first volume has been completed. It is a large undertaking both for publishers and for editor. Both have done their part well. Type, form, and binding are of the best, and the editorial work has been efficiently performed. Dr Hastings has already given ample proof of his gifts for such work. He has been generally successful in his choice of writers, and has had the instinct to discover some who have been little known hitherto, but are now seen to have peculiar fitness for the kind of work in view. He has been wise enough to look with the utmost care to the control of manuscript and proof, and has had the good fortune to secure for the revision of the latter three of our very best and most reliable scholars. He has been happy, too, in the selection of his assistant editor. Mr Selbie's keen eye, exact scholarship, and conscience for work make him the very person for an editor to have always at hand. A dictionary is of little use, whatever showy qualities it may possess, if it is deficient in accuracy. The utmost pains have been taken to make this one trustworthy in its smallest details.

The new dictionary has a well-defined character. It has also some qualities in which it surpasses its predecessors. It represents the best type of scholarship—the scholarship that is liberal, critical, and, in the best sense, scientific, but that is also unpretentious, restrained, far removed from anything flighty, precipitate, or ostentatious. It follows the traditions of the old, sober, solid, massive English scholarship, informing it with the modern spirit and applying to it the modern methods. Its articles on all important subjects are of a well considered size, neither so lengthy and circumstantial as to weary and confuse one, nor so limited as to become inadequate. Its plan is large enough to take in almost everything that can reasonably be looked for as an aid to the student of the Bible and the Apocrypha, in the original languages, in the Authorised Version, and in the Revised. The editor claims for it that it more nearly meets one's expectations in the matter of comprehensiveness “than any dictionary that has been hitherto published.” That is the case. If it is open to any criticism in this respect it is not to that of meagreness, but to that of excess of fulness. For it deals with some things, such as the explanation and history of the obsolete and archaic words in the English Versions, which may not seem to all to be quite in place here. Granting, however, the expediency of including matters of this kind, it must be said of them that they are interesting in themselves and instructively handled. There are other subjects, too, which are either novel or more adequately represented than has hitherto been the case. The most important of



these belong to the department of Biblical Theology. No English dictionary of the Bible, even of the first magnitude, can compare with the new one in this matter. It is perhaps in the place which it gives to questions of Biblical Theology that its most distinctive note of superiority will be found. The articles devoted to these are among the ablest, freshest, and most interesting in the volume.

But to come to particulars, we may notice in the first place a series of articles which show at a glance how things have changed since the last great dictionaries, Kitto's, the Imperial, Dr William Smith's, M'Clintock and Strong's, &c., were planned. These are the articles on such personal names as *Adam*, *Eve*, and the like. How different the brevity and restraint of these from the fanciful biographies and wordy disquisitions which used to be attempted. The *Imperial Bible-Dictionary*, for instance, was in its time an important addition to the student's facilities. It was edited by one of the best-read and most judicious theologians of his day, the late Principal Patrick Fairbairn, of Glasgow, and it enjoyed the assistance of many of the ablest scholars that we had then to show. It is not without its use yet. Many of its articles, those by the late Professor Weir on certain books of the Old Testament, for example, and those by the late Dr James Hamilton of London, on Botanical terms, retain their value still. But when we turn to the word *Adam* we find a story that occupies over a dozen long columns. Contrast with that the three modest columns with which the subject is dismissed here. How different, too, the entire method of treatment—the criticism of the narratives, the investigation of sources, the comparison with other ancient records!

Another class of subject in which a marked advance appears is that of the history of ideas. The literature of Judaism in its various relations to the subject-matter and the criticism of the books of Scripture is laid under systematic contribution. That literature, especially in its pseudepigraphic sections, is a much larger thing than it was even twenty years ago. Its importance is much better understood, and its contents have been studied as they never were before. The new dictionary recognises the case, and gives a large place to this comparatively new and most fruitful field. It furnishes admirable articles on such writings as the Book of Abraham, the Books of Adam, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Baruch, the First and Second Books of Esdras. It gives all that is known, up to the most recent date, of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, and of the most recent addition made to the Enochic literature—the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. But it does more than this. It pays sedulous regard to the opinions, beliefs, and terminology of the Jewish non-canonical literature, and their bearing upon biblical questions, in the articles which treat of the thought of the



different books of Scripture. One of the best examples of this is the very scholarly and instructive contribution by Mr Charles, of Oxford, an acknowledged expert in these matters, on the Eschatology of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature.

In the whole treatment of the *ideas* and *teaching* of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures this dictionary excels its predecessors. It is not only that more space is assigned to these. They get a more distinctive place, and are handled with greater scientific precision, with more regard to their sources, with more reference to their analogues elsewhere, with a better sense, too, of their growth, their modification, and the influences which went to shape them. This may be seen at once if one compares what he gets here under such terms as *Angel*, *Anger*, *Covenant*, *Demon*, *Devil*, *Election*, with what is found in the older dictionaries. By the careful application of the historical method and the use of the best exegeses these subjects are made more fruitful, more reasonable, and more consistent than before. Dr A. B. Davidson's papers on *Angels* and *Covenant* are, as we might expect, models of scientific method and cautious construction. Of articles which also belong substantially to Biblical Theology, although they are made to extend into other lines, and which are very well done, we have an excellent example in the one on *Conscience*. This paper, which is by Mr Kilpatrick, and the longer article on *Ethics*, by Mr T. B. Strong, give a remarkably complete summary of the ethical teaching of the Bible, in its distinctive character and its historical movement.

Another respect in which this dictionary is likely to take high rank is the excellence of its minor articles. In making acquaintance for the first time with a book of this magnitude, one is naturally led to look to the more elaborate articles and is apt to undervalue the smaller contributions. The latter, however, in reality deserve the more careful consideration. The character of a dictionary turns very much upon the quality of these articles. They form a very large part of the whole, and they give information on a multitude of things which have their most proper place in a dictionary, and are not to be found very readily elsewhere. In the new dictionary the number of such articles is very large; many reliable hands have been at work on them; and a vast amount of labour of a kind that has little opportunity of attracting notice, has been expended on them. They are among the best things in the book. Those dealing with obscure and archaic words are mainly by the hand of the editor himself, and are well and interestingly done. Others, which have to do with persons, places, incidents, customs, instruments, measures, plants, stones, and a mass of things of minor moment and rare mention, are by writers that have spared no pains to make the most of their subjects. They represent a great amount of work, for

which in many cases there are only a few lines of print to show, and they give one just what he wants.

This dictionary has also the acceptable note of general fairness and freedom from bias. It has to deal with a considerable number of subjects on which opinion is sharply divided, and on which the mind is apt to be swayed by doctrinal leanings and ecclesiastical preferences. The words *Baptism*, *Bishop*, *Church* suggest much, and one turns with some curiosity, if not anxiety, to the articles which grapple with such perilous terms. It will be generally confessed, however, that they are done with remarkable impartiality, that the controversial element has not been permitted to obtrude itself, and that the writers have succeeded in keeping by an objective treatment of these questions. Nothing could be better than the short paper on the word *Bishop* by Professor Gwatkin, of Cambridge, (a model of precision, sobriety, and impartiality), the longer paper on the word *Church*, by Mr S. C. Gaysford, and another by Professor Gwatkin on *Church Government*. It may be noticed that the *general* equivalence of the offices of bishops and elders in the Apostolic age is admitted, while it is added that we are not to assume that every bishop was an elder, or *vice versa*, or that "there never were any minor differences between them." Professor Gwatkin refers to Harnack's theory that the duties of elders and bishops differed in so far as the care of public worship and of the poor belonged to the bishops (with the deacons), while the elders looked to government and discipline. He acknowledges that it explains some things, and that there may be a germ of truth in it. But he is not prepared to accept it without important reservations, considering it unlikely that there should have been so distinct a separation of duties. "If the elders," he says, "began with discipline and general oversight, they would be likely soon to take up more spiritual duties, as the seven did. Those who had gifts to minister the word and teaching would rather be honoured than hindered; so that many of them might easily be doing pastoral work (especially if they were bishops also) before the end of the Apostolic age."

The larger articles are a tempting field, which one can do little more than glance at, however, in present circumstances. Most of them are, in a high degree, satisfactory. Some of them are of conspicuous merit. Those on *Assyria* and *Babylonia* are worthy of the reputation of their author, Professor Hommel. There is a particularly full, informing and attractive paper on *Egypt*, by one of our best Coptic scholars, Mr W. E. Crum. The subjects *Architecture*, *Bible*, *Cosmogony*, *Ethiopia* are well handled. The paper on the *Chronology* of the Bible, by Professor Curtis and Mr C. H. Turner, is of an extremely elaborate order. It amounts almost to a

treatise, and is of marked ability. The papers on geographical words, *Argob, Bashan, Carmel, Corinth, Damascus, Dead Sea, Ephesus, &c.*, by the hands of scholars like Professors Driver, Ramsay, G. A. Smith, Mr W. A. Ewing, and others, are full of interest. The Route of the *Exodus*, by Professor Rendel Harris and Mr A. T. Chapman; the *Apocalyptic Literature*, by Mr R. H. Charles; and the *Apocrypha*, by Professor F. C. Porter, are also pieces of excellent workmanship.

But we must not omit to refer to the articles which deal with subjects belonging to the department of Introduction. Of the Old Testament, the books of Amos, Chronicles, Daniel, Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Exodus, Ezekiel, and Ezra come within the limits of this volume; of the New Testament books, Acts, Colossians, Corinthians, and Ephesians. These present some of the greatest difficulties in criticism. There could be no better test of one's capacity or of one's judgment than is furnished by some of these. They will be examined with special interest. We cannot say that they are each of them all that could be desired. They differ in quality. But they all give one more or less what he looks for in a dictionary. Some of them have a dash of originality, and make a distinct contribution to their subject. *Ezekiel* is done by a scholar who has already written ably on that book, and is a very satisfactory performance. *Exodus* is treated with great fulness of knowledge, and with evident command of the criticism of the subject, by one whose hand is new to us in this line of things—Mr G. Harford-Battersby. Professor Ryle, of Cambridge, gives us seven pages of compact statement and clear analysis on *Deuteronomy*, and contrives within these modest limits to carry us over questions on which volumes have been written. Professor Francis Brown, of Union Seminary, New York, is the author of an article on the books of *Chronicles*, which represents a vast amount of work of a minute and detailed kind. An elaborate analysis of the style is given, with all the different classes of peculiarities—lexical and syntactical. The question of date is examined with exhaustive care, the conclusion reached being that *Chronicles* was not written before B.C. 300, and may have been as late as B.C. 250. The questions of the sources, the character of the Chronicler, and the value of his chronicles, are also handled very fully and with marked ability. The Chronicler is shown to be a man of "great sincerity and moral earnestness," incapable of falsification, although in writing of David and Solomon he presented "strongly and without qualification those sides of their character which appealed to him," and depicted "the religion of their time according to what seemed to him the necessary conditions of righteousness." As to the history, the whole conception

of it, it is added, "was not that of a mere individual, but that of an age, from which the individual could not separate himself." And as to the *value* of the books, though "it is not mainly that of an accurate record of past events," it is real and great—the value, however, "more of a sermon than of a history." *Chronicles* is a particularly difficult subject to deal with. Professor Brown has performed his task in an eminently thorough and judicious way, keeping in the main by a critical position similar to that of Professor Robertson Smith.

Of the New Testament writings, the Book of Acts is dealt with at greatest length. Mr Headlam's article goes into all the great questions of text, transmission, literary history, sources, relations of the book to Josephus, and historical value. It gives also a very full bibliography, and is altogether an important contribution. The statement of the case for and against the early date is put with great care. The arguments against placing it soon after the close of the narrative are pronounced to be not very strong. But the final view is rather the other way. "Perhaps, on the whole," says the writer, "the amount of perspective contained in the book is hardly compatible with the earlier date, just as the relation of the third Gospel to the other two suggests the later date, and a period shortly after 70 is the more probable." *Colossians* by Mr J. O. F. Murray, and *Ephesians* by Dr Walter Lock are also able performances. The article on the latter is of special interest for the view it gives of the structure of the Epistle. What is lacking in it is a completer statement of the great doctrinal ideas. Some of the largest and most characteristic of these are barely noticed. All else in this scholarly article is dealt with at length and with great precision.

Publishers and editor are to be congratulated on what they have accomplished. They have laid us under great obligations. Their enterprise deserves the best return.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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### **Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschl's und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart.**

*Von Gustav Ecke, Pastor am evang. Diakonissenhause in Bremen.*  
1 Band. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 316.  
Price, M.5.

THE above volume opens a new line in the criticism of Ritschl's teaching. Hitherto, that criticism has been mainly hostile. Herr Ecke, while criticising as an earnest evangelical believer all that

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he holds unevangelical, is much more anxious to discover points of agreement or, at least, of approximate agreement. This he does with ample knowledge of his subject. Much of his information as to the present views of members of the Ritschlian school is gathered from the pages of scattered periodicals and pamphlets, which are difficult of access to those at a distance. He writes, too, in a clear, flowing style. While possibly it may be open to debate whether his eirenical spirit has not sometimes coloured his judgments, there can be no doubt that he has succeeded in removing or modifying some serious misconceptions, and in showing that the views of the school have undergone very considerable development. Our author says, truly enough, that some misconceptions have been due in great measure to Ritschl himself, to his obscure modes of expression, and to strong idiosyncrasies of temperament. Ritschl is pictured as predominantly intellectual and ethical, with little or no feeling for the spiritual or mystical side of religion. Everything is brought to the test of practice. What does not submit itself to experience is condemned. The stress laid on value-judgments (*Werthurtheile*) is evidence of this, although we are surprised to find that little is made of this element in the present volume. Such judgments are virtually discarded as of little importance in Ritschl's system, as they have been discarded by noted Ritschlians. Another surprising feature is what is said respecting R.'s theory of knowledge. With his intensely utilitarian spirit, it always seemed strange that so much emphasis should be laid on a philosophy of knowledge. We are now assured that this is no essential part of the system. Noted disciples, like Professor Herrmann, disclaim it altogether. How, then, is the importance attached to the question by Professor Kaftan, in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*, to be explained?

As an example of misconception due to obscurity of expression, we may instance R.'s views of the nature of sin, which was described as springing from ignorance. The inadequacy of such an account is evident at a glance. It is now said that all that R. intended was to distinguish sin that is forgiveable from the impenitence that has no forgiveness. Writers who use such circuitous phraseology invite misunderstanding.

The striking feature in the book is the account of the modifications that have taken place in the views of the Ritschlian school. These amount to little less than a transformation. Nothing is clearer than that the rift between the right and left wings is ever becoming more pronounced, the former apparently having the predominance. The left wing is represented by Professors Harnack, Gottschick, and Wendt. Even here there is serious modification in a negative sense. Our author well points out that, while

Ritschl himself held to apostolic teaching as interpreting Christ's, Harnack and his school give apostolic teaching an inferior position, making Christ's teaching our sole authority. On the whole, however, these writers adhere most closely to Ritschl's main lines.

The right wing, represented by Häring, Kattenbusch, Herrmann, Loofs, Drews, Lobstein, has made quite remarkable approaches to the evangelical position on such fundamental doctrines as Christ's Godhead, the Atonement, and individual fellowship with God. The two last questions are decisive examples of the change in progress. It is well known how emphatic Ritschl was in his opposition to the ideas of propitiation and of personal fellowship with God in every shape and form. Our author gives a long list of quotations, showing beyond question that both ideas are accepted and earnestly advocated by prominent Ritschlians. On the question of fellowship, Herrmann's pronounced subjectivism is remarkable. How it could have escaped the heavy lash that fell on Pietism, it is difficult to see. Evangelical believers can only rejoice at the development and its promise of future co-operation. It would seem as if the only difference will soon be simply modes of expression, and Protestants need not quarrel about these.

What binds members of the school together is the acceptance of Ritschl's three canons of method or procedure. These are—(1) The confession of the first Christian Church is the source and norm of Dogmatics; (2) The Person of Christ is the measure for grouping the matter of Scripture; (3) Theological knowledge in its innermost essence has salvation for its end (p. 175). This seems to be all that is accepted as distinctive of R.'s teaching; all detail is optional. It may well be said that it is no longer possible to speak of "a homogeneous Ritschlian school." The differences between master and followers are more numerous than the points of agreement. Of course it will be said that the unity is in the essential principle or method, the divergence in details. "This development, as delightful as it is surprising, within the Ritschlian school has been made possible by the fact that the formal arrangement of the Ritschlian system admits a richer employment of the Biblical matter than was found in Ritschl himself, so that R.'s principles of method, when they are logically carried out in the sense of the deeper motives at work in them, must of necessity lead to a transformation of the contents of his entire system" (p. 311).

J. S. BANKS.

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**Christian Institutions.**

*By the Rev. Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological College, Cambridge, Mass. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 577. Price, 12s.*

A THOROUGHLY good book on *Christian Institutions* is very much wanted—a book which will trace from generation to generation the growth and changes in the organisation of the Church of Christ in all its branches, which will give us the history of the gradual development of the worship and creeds of the Church of Christ, and at the same time will connect all these changes with the needs, ever changing yet always the same, of the spiritual life of the Christian people. There is not merely room for such a book; there is also ample material lying to hand though scattered through a thousand histories, monographs and essays. There is no occasion why it should be of inordinate length, still less that it should be a mere summary of archæological details; it ought to show not merely the forms in which the life has clothed itself but the life itself also.

The *Christian Institutions* of Dr Allen attempts, not altogether unsuccessfully, to supply the lack. Dr Allen does not seem to lack the requisite knowledge, though one could wish him to be a little more accurate. His sympathies are generous and wide; he sees that *institutions* are of value only in so far as they reveal the life which they are meant at once to manifest and to protect. Yet the book is not all one could wish it to be. It is good, but one feels it might have been better.

By the word *institution* Dr Allen means “the outward form or embodiment which the spirit of Christianity assumes corresponding to some inward mode of apprehending the Christian faith.” These outward forms take shape in the organisation of the Christian community, in the articles of the Christian Creed, and in the divers aspects of the Christian cultus.

Dr Allen finds that two epochs of the Christian Church have stamped themselves upon its external features;—the one begins with the second century and the other is the period of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The former had for its task to translate Christianity “into terms which should be intelligible in the Roman Empire”; at the second the work was to effect such change in the “institutions” as would better reflect and express the “human spirit set free from an arbitrary external authority.”

With these statements we agree, but in expounding them we fear that Dr Allen falls into inaccuracies either of expression or of



information. For example, "Rome," he says, "did nothing for theology." Rome is here used to include Latin as opposed to Greek Christianity. It has been common to make this assertion, duly limited to the doctrine of the Person of Christ, for surely no one will say that the doctrines of sin and of grace are exclusively of Eastern framing; but it is not correct. Even Harnack, unjust as he continually is to Western theology, has been compelled by the researches of Reuter to admit that there was a real and independent type of Western doctrine on the subject of the Person of Christ which derived nothing from Greek thought, and that so far from it being the case that Rome accepted Greek dogma at Nicaea, the real fact is that the West imposed its type of doctrine on the East both at Nicaea and at Chalcedon. Or to take another instance. Instead of saying that the Protestants might have claimed the title Catholic, why not say, what is the fact, that they not only did claim it but took elaborate pains to prove their right to it;—Luther in his famous preface to his edition of the three creeds and Calvin by designedly making his *Institutes* an exposition of the "Apostles' Creed" the symbol of the earliest Latin Christianity. These are only examples of small irritating mistakes or inaccuracies which occur throughout the book, and which a little more care might have avoided.

Dr Allen's book is divided into three parts; the first treats of Institutions in the form of organisation of the Christian community, the second of creeds, and the third of worship.

The first division, which is much the longest, after an historic survey, which is perhaps the least valuable chapter in the book, discusses the organisation of the Apostolic Church under the two heads of "Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers," and "Presbyters, Bishops, Deacons." It proceeds to describe the age of transition or the third generation of Christianity, where the documents are the Epistle of Clement, the Didaché, the Pastor of Hermas, and the Ignatian Epistles. Then follow chapters on the Ignatian Episcopate, on Theories regarding the origin of the Episcopate, and on the Christian ministry of the second century. The other chapters discuss the Age of Cyprian, Monasticism in its relation to the Episcopate and to the Catholic Church, Nationality and the Episcopate with special reference to the Greek Church, the Episcopate and the Greek Church, and the organisation of the Churches in the age of the Reformation.

A study of the organisation of the Christian Church during the first three centuries not unnaturally occupies by far the largest space, and here Dr Allen's guides are mainly Harnack and Hatch. He decides that the investigations of these scholars have overthrown the late Dr Lightfoot's conclusions about the origin of the Christian

ministry, and more especially the theory that the "episcopate was formed out of the presbyterate by elevation," and that presbyter and episcopos were originally synonymous terms. We have no concern to defend all Dr Lightfoot's statements, and it is more than probable that with the present sources of information before him the late Bishop of Durham, the most learned and cautious student of the first three centuries of our era that this century has seen, might have been inclined to modify some of his conclusions; but we venture to think that it would not have been in the direction indicated by Dr Allen. Dr Lightfoot had already suggested lines of research which he did not follow up, but which point to the possibility that the real difference between Dr Hatch and himself was that the former looked at all that old church life as if it were one uniform organisation; while Dr Lightfoot, always free from the fault of simply finding corroboration for preconceived ideas in his historical investigations, recognised the possibility of differences in organisation arising from differences in the social conditions of the ordinary civil life. To our mind it can be shown that there were at least five types of primitive organisation in the New Testament Church, not one type as both Hatch and Harnack seem to insist that there *must* have been. Hatch has proved that there were officers called bishops from the beginning in certain Gentile Churches, and he has very plausibly explained where the idea of such office came from. But that does not hinder that there were presbyters occupying a similar position in churches of Jewish origin, which is what Lightfoot contends for, nor does it prevent the Churches of Rome and Thessalonica being organised under a government not unlike that of patron and client. It is not asserted that there was one bishop in every church from the beginning, and therefore Lightfoot's contention that the bishop, in the sense of a chairman of a council of administrative office-bearers, did rise out of the position of member of council, whether that member was called bishop, as in Churches of Gentile origin, or presbyter, as in Churches of Jewish origin, remains undisturbed by Hatch's researches.

But the peculiarity of Dr Allen's position is that he apparently seeks to class the presbyters with the prophets and teachers who were exhorters and not administrative officers at all; and so wedded is he to this idea that it haunts him all throughout his book. For his master thought is that there is to be seen in the history of the institutions of the Church, whether of organisation or creed or cultus, the play of two forces—the one the individual and hortatory, which represents the divine right of insurrection against the powers that be, should these powers cease to fulfil their functions, and the other the thought of orderly life and strict organisation. His peculiar theory of the presbyterate of the Church of the first two

centuries makes him call the former the "presbyterate," while the latter is the "episcopate." His principle is so sound, and its working is so well illustrated, that it is a pity that he has beclouded his real meaning by such a fanciful nomenclature. It is somewhat striking also that in his account of the organisation of the Church as seen in the Pastor of Hermas, he should have missed the most important passage which bears on organisation, that which states the duties of Clement as the office-bearer who had charge of correspondence with other Churches. In short, the great fact of the constant intercommunication between the different Christian communities, a fact which even the heathen, such as Lucian, noticed and which had such a large amount of influence on the earliest organisation of the Christian Church, has been altogether overlooked by Dr Allen.

Dr Allen's chapter on Cyprian is one of the best in the book. It is quite refreshing to find that he has noticed the real sympathy which the great bishop had with many Montanist ideas; but he has not done the whole justice to the curious contradictions to be found in the champion for episcopal rights. He says "the question of *ordination* now assumes the foremost rank." Of course on Cyprian's theory it ought; but it does not. Cyprian scarcely alludes to ordination, and when he does he seems to consider it simply the being set apart to perform fixed duties in the Church (*cf.* Ep. lxv. 1; xxxii. 2; lxvii. 6). At all events he does not base the extraordinary powers which he claims for bishops on their ordination or consecration. He does not seem to think that when a bishop is set apart for his official duties he receives an official inspiration. The inspiration which he undoubtedly possesses is rather given him in momentary acts by God. The right performance of the Lord's Supper depends upon *deo inspirante et mandante* (Ep. lxii. 1); the decision of the North African bishops assembled in council to deliberate about the "lapsed" was suggested, he says, by the Holy Spirit, "God advising them by many and manifest visions" (Ep. liii. 6). He declares continually that no one can judge a bishop but God; but when two Spanish bishops had "lapsed," he calls upon their people to abandon them upon pain of being as bad as their pastors if they refuse. In short, he was a strong man and did not seek to be logical.

Dr Allen's chapter on "Monasticism in its relations to the Episcopate and to the Catholic Church" is also very full of interest and suggestiveness. He has apparently caught Harnack's theory that Monasticism, in its early forms at least, was the provision within the Church for those special characteristics of Christian life which had been cast out when Montanism had been overthrown. It expressed the craving for individuality; for a personal

devotion as much needed for the spiritual life as obedience to ecclesiastical superiors; it meant the revival of spontaneous prophetic utterance. There was therefore always within Monasticism an inner note of antagonism to the episcopate. Dr Allen states this and its consequences with very great clearness and wealth of illustration. Unfortunately he cannot get clear of the idea that the presbyters represented the New Testament prophets, and the thought that presbyters stand for individuality while bishops stand for organisation mars the whole chapter.

Still it is a most interesting and suggestive chapter. Here is Dr Allen's thesis: "Monasticism never lost its inner mood of antagonism to the episcopate; its history is a record of conflicts with the bishops, of rivalries and jealousies, of defeats and victories, till it finally issued in the age of the Reformation, in organised Churches which had no bishops, where prophecy or the preaching of the Word was placed above the gift of administration." He shows with a large measure of success that Montanism, Novatianism, Donatism, and Monasticism constitute a line of succession; that all of them, and Monasticism inheriting the possessions of what went before it, stood for the principle of individualism while the Catholic Church stood for solidarity. He shows how the Catholic Church was too strong to be overcome by Monasticism, while Monasticism was too strong to be utterly subdued by the Church or the Episcopate. In the compromise which resulted the Eastern Church succeeded in taking its bishops from the monasteries but failed in bringing the monasteries under episcopal control; while in the West the monasteries, nominally under episcopal visitation, succeeded by supporting the papacy to secure a real independence of the Episcopate.

The most interesting part of Dr Allen's conception of the effect of Monasticism on Christian Institutions is his idea of the way in which Monasticism affected the Church at the time of the Reformation. The Reformation was, he believes, largely the effect of an individualist revolt against the solidarity of an organisation which had sacrificed too much to externality. Hence, according to his ideas of the part played by Monasticism in resisting this solidarity all throughout its history, it was bound to come to the front in the Reformation struggle. Of course the author of a book like this cannot afford time or space to deal with things in detail, and is quite justified in omitting the secondary causes while he describes the more important, but it is to be feared that Dr Allen has been too much carried away by his affection for an idea to be altogether trusted in his account of the connection between the Reformation and the Monastic orders. Granted that Monasticism was to begin with a revolt against a too strictly organised Church, a protest in

favour of the value of the personal religious life ; granted also that in the darkest days of the early Mediæval Church it was the monasteries which led the way in reforms, and that almost every outburst of inventiveness in matters of religion, even in the later Middle Ages, came either from the Monastic orders or from associations which resembled them in most important aspects—granted all that, Dr Allen still makes too much of the relation of the Monastic orders to the Reformation movement. It is true that the Augustinians went almost in a body on the side of reform, and that Franciscans were among the boldest of the Reformation preachers ; but it is scarcely true that any other of the Monastic orders showed a special tendency to accept and forward the Reformation. The reasons for the peculiar position of the Augustinians and of the Franciscans must therefore be sought elsewhere than in the fact that they were monks. Nor is the reason far to seek. The Augustinians regarded themselves as the special guardians of the doctrines of grace which the great Augustine had taught, and which became specially prominent in all reformation preaching and theology ; while the Franciscans had always kept in touch with the common people and were specially interested in the social and economic changes which the Reformation movement on its social side might be capable of producing. Still we have to thank Dr Allen for clearly pointing out how the principle of individuality was kept alive in the Monastic orders and how that principle did awaken to new life at the time of the Reformation. It is a pity that Dr Allen should have run his genuinely correct idea to death and not contented himself with stating it in a less exclusive fashion. Even his general principle should have been put with a little more accuracy, and the accuracy required did not need a great amount of details to be stated. The sacred principle of individuality does not find much illustration among the orders of monks proper after the twelfth century. It was then taken up and exhibited by the friars, Dominican and Franciscan, whose aims and organisation were quite distinct from those of the monks, and for more than a century they were its exponents. But in the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the sacred fire had died down among the friars, and was rekindled by associations some of which were, and some of which were not, monastic in the ordinary sense of that word. The two and a half centuries before the Reformation flooded Western Europe with pious associations and some impious. The “Friends of God,” the Lollards, the Fratricelli, the Brethren of the Common Lot, and the Brethren of the Common Life, were all pious associations of this kind ; while the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit displayed the dangerous and irreligious side of the wide spreading individualist revolt against the ecclesiastical or-

ganisation of the Church—a revolt which was to take deeper and more resolute shape at the time of the great Reformation.

We have left ourselves little space to notice the portions of Dr Allen's book which treat of Creeds and of Worship. They are by no means the least interesting parts. His chapter on "The Life of the Spirit, the doctrine of the Atonement, the relation of the Divine to the Human," for example, is full of suggestive thought.

Dr Allen's book is both suggestive and valuable; it contains a good many inaccuracies which a second edition may efface; the author is too prone to come to a rounded general conclusion on a very slender induction of fact; but the book is fresh, interesting, and above all suggestive. With the great general principles which it sets forth we are in complete accord, although we cannot accept many of the illustrations which are given; and we do certainly wish that Dr Allen had let the "presbyterate" alone.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

### **Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences.**

*By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A., Professor of the Harmony of Science and Revelation, Oberlin College. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898. Pp. 362. Price, \$1.50.*

THE Lowell Institute Lectures could not have been entrusted to better hands than to Professor Wright. He occupies chief place among those who in America have investigated the claims of science and revelation. Professor Wright's knowledge is, however, not restricted to this field, but in the work before us moves easily over territories directly biblical, critical, and philosophical. The book consists of ten chapters, and has for one of its main drifts to counteract the one-sidedness of scientific specialism as that tendency evidences itself in a demand for experimental or demonstrative proof in unreasonable forms. There can be no doubt of the need—on both sides of the Atlantic—for doing this, and just as little doubt of the vigour and skill with which it is here done. The difficulties of faith are for our author such as are not peculiar to religious belief, but are shared by the whole family of the inductive sciences. "It is unreasonable to set up such a standard of proof as will prevent the formation of practical judgments and paralyze human activities" (p. 185). "The larger part not only of the beliefs which are properly permitted to regulate our daily life, but the larger part of the beliefs of the inductive sciences, rest upon probable, or, as it is often called, moral evidence" (p. 191). Professor



Wright engages in the good warfare against a mechanical view of the Universe; he fears the fatalism of the philosophers more than the materialism of scientists. The limits of scientific thought, or the limitations of the experimental method of proof, are clearly realised by Professor Wright, who does not—as have so many—overestimate what science can do for our enlightenment. He adopts a theistic evolution, embraces a dualistic theory of the universe, maintains human freedom, finds place for design, and makes room for miracle. His discussion of these subjects is enlivened and enhanced by the introduction of much interesting scientific material. The historic discoveries also come within his survey. Thus we have the *Apology* of Aristides, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the recently found Syriac version of the Gospels, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and the *Logia* of Grenfell and Hunt, all adduced in favour of the author's contention that "they have uniformly confirmed the traditional belief in the early acknowledgment of the Gospels." The internal evidences of the early date of the four Gospels are next dealt with, after which the book closes with a summary of results of the cumulative evidence. The book will prove no less interesting to the general reader than to the special student of the Christian Evidences. Its eminently readable character should help to ensure for it the wide circulation which its careful and comprehensive treatment deserves. There is a good subject and author index, and some valuable and helpful scientific illustrations.

JAMES LINDSAY.

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### **A Manual of Ethics.**

*By John S. Mackenzie, M.A., Professor of Logic and Philosophy in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire; formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third Edition, Revised, Enlarged, and partly Rewritten. London: W. B. Clive, 1897. Pp. xix. and 456 (First Edition, pp. xxvi. and 339). Price, 6s.*

THROUGH this new and considerably enlarged edition of Professor Mackenzie's *Manual* the editors of the *University Tutorial Series* offer a welcome proof to the readers of the First Edition (1892) that the book is in a fair way to occupy the position it deserves. That position is certainly in the first rank of educational treatises on a great subject. The writer, it will be remembered, made generous acknowledgment of his predecessors and contemporaries in the



authorship of Ethical Handbooks, and this feature is continued and enlarged in the new edition ; but few books of the same compass, whether English or German, have covered the ground with the same thoroughness and wealth of illustration. 456 pages make what it is difficult to call a small book ; but no one who follows Professor Mackenzie from page to page will wish that his book were shorter, and his own modest reason for omitting the chapter on the relation of Art to Ethics (chap. xvi. of the First Edition), that "the treatment of such a subject in a handbook is necessarily too slight to be of any value" (p. 420, note 2), might readily, were it not for such books as this one, apply to all philosophical handbooks. It is a great achievement to have written in less than 500 small pages a handbook covering the whole ground of Ethics, treated from the idealistic standpoint, of which the thing least possible to say is that it is "too slight to be of any value." The foot and appendix notes are abundant, but not oppressive. They are spots of light, never spots of dulness. They are always instructive, often packed with vigorous criticism, and sometimes amusing (*e.g.*, that on the private life of Kant, p. 159). We cannot within the limits of a second notice attempt anything of the nature of serious criticism, and must, for account of the book, be content to indicate the main points of difference between the present edition and the first. It may be permitted, however, to say that most of the theological readers of the *Critical Review* will find themselves at one with Professor Mackenzie in speculative standpoint ; and though they will probably find his references to Jesus Christ<sup>1</sup> as little satisfactory as we do, they will be grateful for his genuine appreciation of Christian Ethics. In Ethics Professor Mackenzie is as sound a Puritan as

<sup>1</sup> Professor Mackenzie's view, it must be confessed, is *naturalistic* in the theological, if not in the philosophical sense. Jesus Christ is, as a matter of course, on the same footing with Confucius, Buddha, and other religious reformers. It does not come in Professor Mackenzie's way to suggest the questionableness of this in view of history or the New Testament. He refers in connection with a quotation from the Epistle to the Romans to "the writer of the Pauline Epistles" (p. 97), and leaves the reader with the impression that the words "his service is perfect freedom" occur in the New Testament (p. 98). Perhaps it is this naïve ignorance of things Biblical that enables Professor Mackenzie to do such justice to Christian Ethics. He does not doubt that if Jesus Christ and the Apostle Paul were alive they would acknowledge it to have been the principal aim of their lives to enforce such doctrine as is formulated in such a handbook as this under the heading *Christian Ethics*. Possibly, if Professor Mackenzie had allowed himself to be more aware of the gulf between his point of view in this reference and that of the New Testament writers, he might have done less justice to their ethical teaching. As it is, orthodox Christians may be thankful for Professor Mackenzie's help in casting out the demon of a materialistic or merely empirical view of life, even though he "followeth not with" them.

Dr Martineau. The differences between the first and the present edition relate, as the Preface explains, chiefly to the method of arranging the material. Instead of the division into two *Parts* ("The Theory of Morals" and "The Moral Life") we have now a division into three *Books*: Book I. (pp. 1-146), "Prolegomena chiefly Psychological"; Book II. (pp. 147-272) "Theories of the Moral Standard," in which, with great critical ability and much genial appreciation of elements of value in Hedonistic and Utilitarian schemes, the author vindicates his own idealistic standpoint. Book III., "The Moral Life" (pp. 273-438), with a valuable little *Appendix* (pp. 439-442) intended to guide the student's reading on Ethics, and an admirable *Index* (pp. 443-456). A slight defect in editing appears in the fact that, while the author speaks in the Preface of a cross-division into five *Parts*, the *Parts* do not appear in the table of *Contents*. The author's general view is that Ethics occupies a position midway between Psychology and Metaphysics. This view dominates his method of arrangement and accounts in particular for the culmination of the book in the insistence upon the need of a metaphysical basis on which to rest the presuppositions of Ethics. In the interest of this need the author has largely curtailed the references of the previous edition to Art in order to make those to Metaphysics "a good deal more definite" (Preface, p. x.). Hence also the addition of the "Concluding Chapter" on "Ethics and Metaphysics." As if in counterpoise to this insistence upon Metaphysics the author has added a chapter at the end of Book II. on "The Bearing of Theory on Practice," "in order to remove the impression that appears to have been created in some minds that I thought it to be the business of ethical science to construct the moral life *in vacuo*" (Preface, *ibid.*). The author's view throughout is that the moral life has to be lived, whether or not we can come to intellectual terms with the "chief end," which it presupposes, and the closing sentence of the book expresses a disposition to acquiesce in the dictum of Kant that "Metaphysics is undoubtedly the most difficult of sciences; but it is a science that has not yet come into existence." We regret that the space allowed for this notice is in such poor proportion to the merits of this extremely able, instructive, and readable book.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly  
of Divines :**

*Being a facsimile of the First Edition, which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 25th November 1647. With Historical Account and Bibliography by William Carruthers, F.R.S. (lately Keeper of Botany, British Museum). London: Publication Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, 14 Paternoster Square, 1897. 4to, pp. 78. Price, 3s. 6d.*

THIS is a publication of present interest and of permanent value. Its issue in 1897 was seasonable, as there then fell to be celebrated the 250th anniversary of the completion of what Richard Baxter declared to be the best Catechism he had ever seen, the best book next to his Bible in his study. But what was thus timely in publication has a value of its own over and above mere opportuneness of issue. A work which has exercised such a moulding influence upon the theology and piety of Saxon and Celtic Presbyterians for two centuries and a half is surely as worthy of reproduction in facsimile as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1551, a black-letter reprint of which appeared in Edinburgh some fifteen years ago. The reproducing has in this case been admirably done. Mr Carruthers has proved himself a most competent editor. He has a wide and, at the same time, minute knowledge of the field in all its departments—doctrinal, historical, and bibliographical; he is an enthusiastic admirer of the Jerusalem Chamber symbolical books; and he displays, both in his edition of the *Confession of Faith* and in this of the *Shorter Catechism*, a love of verbal correctness which entitles him to the gratitude of all lovers of accuracy.

Then the publishers have spared no pains to make their part of the work worthy of such admirable editing. One of the six hundred copies to which the London printer of 1647 was restricted "at his perill," is in the Library of the British Museum; and this has been reproduced by a photographic process in absolute facsimile, printed on paper of seventeenth century style and colour, and bound in buckram—all in such a fashion as cannot fail to satisfy even the most fastidious of bibliopoles.

In his "historical account" Mr Carruthers has pointed out several deviations from the authoritative text in current editions of the *Catechism*. Some of these are clearly corruptions of modern printing, as, for example, "*the* pain of death" for "pain of death," and "such set *times*" for "such set *time*"; while others are pro-

bably blunders of the press in 1647, as, for example, the omission of "and" before "Sanctification" in the answer to question 52. The need of a careful supervision of the press in the case of such a frequently printed work as *The Grounds and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechism*—the title sanctioned by the English Parliament—can be gathered from the fact that the text of 1647 was tampered with in the following year, the clause in the answer to question 82, "doth daily break them" being changed into "daily breaks them" in the edition of 1648.

Did space permit an extended reference might be made to the Scottish Catechisms of the Westminster period, and specially to that of Rutherford, which was prepared just before the Assembly divines entered on this part of their labours, and which Professor Mitchell is of opinion was drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the committee in the hope that it might meet their approval. With all our admiration for the intense spirituality, the rich imagery and pithy sayings of the writer of the immortal *Letters*, we cannot but feel thankful that the hopes of the Scottish Commissioners were in this matter disappointed. Rutherford's *Soume of Christian Religion* is a most racy production, abounding in felicitous phrasing, poetical imagery, and subtle distinctions, but it is too racy of the soil and speech of Scotland to be of any use in England. What could an English reader make of such expressions as these: "our life is *empaunded* in Christ's hands," "God hes *marrowed* man and woman togidder," "faith grippeth promises and maketh us to go out of ourselves to Christ, as being *homelie* with Christ," "we are to come [to our Father] as bairnes to their father's knee and to speak to him in a bairnes tongue quho hes maid us bairnes in Christ"? When one comes across such words and phrases as these, which even some Scotsmen of the present day may have a difficulty in understanding, one feels thankful that while the Commissioners from North Britain cordially aided in the elaboration of them, "the documents which are to-day," as Mr Carruthers aptly puts it, "the authoritative standards of the English-speaking Presbyterian Churches of the world were prepared by an assembly of English divines, men who were episcopally ordained clergymen of the Church of England." For the result of that has been that the teaching of the Shorter Catechism has been expressed in language which is spoken and written alike in Great and Greater Britain to this day, a language not one vocable of which has become obsolete in the course of two hundred and fifty years.

C. G. M'CRIE.

**Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und  
verwandter Schriften.<sup>1</sup>**

*Von Dr Ferdinand Weber. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xl. 427. Price, 7 marks.*

THIS work is one of such interest and value that, had it been better known, it would long ago have passed into a second edition. It is hard to understand why some enterprising publisher has not issued this treatise in England. It is to be hoped that this second edition will soon be put into English for the benefit of interested persons who are unacquainted with German.

Weber's book does for early though post-biblical Jewish Theology what Oehler and Schultz have done for the Old Testament. Others have attempted to bring together statements regarding the beliefs and practices of the Jews; *e.g.*, Saadia Gaon ("Emunot W'Edot"), Maimonides ("More Nebuchim"), Juda Hallewi ("Kusari"), and, coming to moderns, Wagenseil ("Tele Igneá Satanae") and Eisenmenger ("Entdecktes Judenthum"). The first three are Jews, and aim at explaining and defending Judaism. The last two are Christians, and endeavour to indicate the absurdities of Judaism with the view of discrediting both it and its followers. Eisenmenger's work is very full and scholarly; it is much larger than Weber's, and contains a good deal that the latter of necessity omits. But it lacks in arrangement, and the author is as antisemitic as any modern Russian or German. Even M'Caul's *Old Path* has points of interest unnoticed by our author. Weber had the advantage of having before him the works of Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Weiss, and others, who have written on the theology of the Old or New Testament.

Admirable as the work is, there are monographs on parts of the subject which are fuller and more satisfactory, as was to be expected. Such are the works of Drummond and Stanton on the Jewish Messiah, and also Fürst's Old Testament Canon according to Talmudic and Midraschic tradition. But for comprehensiveness of treatment, logical arrangement and conciseness, this work of Weber's is far and away the best we have, or are likely to have, for a good while to come.

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of this work was published in 1880 under the title, *System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, and was edited after the author's death by Professors Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann. This new edition has been corrected and added to by the second editor, aided by Mr J. J. Kahan.

This second edition contains many improvements upon the first. For one thing, at the top of each page the number of the section is given, as well as the subject of it. The convenience of this to anyone looking out for a particular section is obvious.

The reader is considerably helped in this new edition by having the substance of each section put in larger and thicker type at the beginning of the section. This has often necessitated an addition to the text, but it affords the reader an admirable clue as to the course of thought.

The literary references in the new edition are fuller and more up to date, though there is still room for improvement in this respect. At page 360 there is a whole paragraph given to literature on *Jewish Christology*, which in the first edition is wanting. It is singular to find no mention made of the English works by Drummond and Stanton already referred to. Bertholet's *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* was published but a few months prior to the second edition of Weber, and could not perhaps be mentioned. But no bibliography of Jewish theology can be considered complete which does not take note of it.

Dr Schnedermann has been aided by Mr J. J. Kahan, a scholar resident in Leipzig, in correcting the references and quotations. Those who know Mr Kahan, to whom this task was committed, will have confidence in the care, knowledge and skill with which this undertaking has been accomplished. For hints—hints only—of other obligations which scholars are under to Mr Kahan see the preface to the *Gesenius-Buhl Lexicon*, and to Dalman's *Aramäische Grammatik*; but far more has been done by him in helping others than is known, as his friend the late Professor Franz Delitzsch could say were he still alive.

Weber's *Jewish Theology*, though our best treatment on the whole subject, is not perfect. The work has yet to be written; but whoever takes in hand this gigantic task will be helped in no small measure by the present work.

Weber is too prone to look upon Rabbinical works as systematic treatises, teaching the same thing in every part; but this is far from being the true state of the case. In the Talmud, as well as in other Jewish writings, we have the *obiter dicta* of separate teachers, and no attempt is made to co-ordinate or reconcile them. This is why continental antisemites find it so easy to adduce passages from Jewish literature that, if representative, would be so damaging, but which are often the statements of a single man.

In § 17 quotations are given showing how completely the Gentiles are shut out from the mercy of God. But, on the contrary, the very "Yalqut" which he cites (p. 66) teaches in another place the very reverse in the following words:—"Whoever doeth

good, whether Israelite or Heathen, man or woman, he-slave or she-slave, gets the reward" ("Yalqut" on Genesis, § 76). How much these words are like those of the converted Jew! "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male nor female: for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28).

On p. 49 the author brings forward two passages (Berak 17<sup>b</sup>, Sifre 12), to show that, according to Jewish teaching, a man can claim as a right the rewards of obedience to every precept: he does not need to appear before Him whose word he has kept as unworthy. But it ought in all fairness to be pointed out that the direct contrary is taught in *Debarim Rabba*, ch. 2, where we read: "No man (creature) has any availing claim upon his Creator. Even Moses, the head (master) of the prophets, could approach God only as a suppliant." This is doctrine with which the writer of "Romans" could have no quarrel, and it is to be found in other Rabbinical writings. These examples suffice to warn the reader to be on his guard in reading this book.

There are some errors of translation, though in regard to them opinions will differ. At p. 132, line 23, המורה הלכה should probably be rendered "to make" or "decide a halaka," not to merely say or recite one (Levy, under ירה, renders by *lehren*, teach).

A better translation than "mit ihrem Wissen" would be—keeping to the German—"in Besitze ihrer Erkenntniss."

Weber holds with the bulk of modern Jews that Phylacteries, Mezuzas, and Tsitith originated in the endeavour to keep in mind the commandments of God (see p. 27 f.). But this conception is a later one, due to a rationalising process. See "*Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and related peoples*," 1898, by the present writer. Originally these were all used as charms to keep away evil spirits.

Many points of fundamental interest and importance to the Christian theologian are dealt with in this volume. There are both questions—Did the Jews of the period included expect a Messiah that would suffer and die for the people? Did they believe in the everlasting punishment of the wicked? To the former our author answers in the negative. As to the latter, he gives passages implying the extinction of the impenitent, and others teaching the everlasting punishment of certain classes. Tempted as one is to name other vital questions raised, and to discuss them too, the limits of space make this impossible.

J. WITTON DAVIES.



### 1. Das Deuteronomium.

*Das prophetische Staatsgesetz des theokratischen Königthums, mit seinen Eingangs- und Schlussworten, aus der prophetischen Geschichte und Theologie, erläutert von O. Naumann, Pastor in Treuen. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 252. Price, M.2.*

### 2. Alttestamentliche Studien.

*Von G. Stosch, Pfarrer am St Elisabeth-Diakonissenhause zu Berlin. II. Teil: Mose und die Dokumente des Auszugs. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 167. Price, M.2.*

1. PASTOR NAUMANN finds in Deuteronomy a movement of the legislative activity of the prophets and their effort all along to give a theocratic constitution, in the spirit of Mosaism, to the people of God. From the Decalogue, the Mosaic *magna charta* of the theocracy, down to the Priests' Code he discovers a legislative continuity in which there are no abrupt transitions or violent breaks with the past. The careful examination of Deuteronomy itself he considers affords ample evidence of the truth of his contentions. The Sinaitic Book of the Covenant is the first illustration (perhaps about the time of Samuel) of the prophetic application of Mosaic principles after the occupation of the land. To an early date belongs also the code of laws which, according to Deuteronomy, was promulgated in the plains of Moab. This included such points as the proclaiming of the ban against the native populations of Canaan, the destruction of their images and altars, the prohibition of intermarriages with them, and directions about partitioning the Holy Land by lot. Our author distinguishes, with Kautzsch and most modern critics, between a primitive Deuteronomy (UD), including chaps. xii.-xxvi. and the introduction and conclusion of the book. The latter constituents, contributed by four different prophetic hands, he designates E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>, E<sub>4</sub>. UD (as a whole) and E<sub>1</sub> date from about the close of the period of prosperity under Solomon, E<sub>2</sub> and E<sub>3</sub> from the first and second stages of the Syrian wars, E<sub>4</sub> from the time of Josiah-Jeremiah. Modern criticism errs when it attributes the first publication of D to the reign of Josiah, and its composition to a date a little before this time. It is wrong also when it supposes that the Decalogue is not essentially older than D.

Naumann's work is most careful, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The tone is unexceptionable. Rarely have we met with more courtesy and candour

towards opponents. His book deserves careful study, although we cannot profess to believe that it will exercise much influence on adherents of Wellhausen or even of more conservative critics. Traditionalists will find that it goes too far for their tastes. By the way, is it not extremely improbable that Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. is the work of Isaiah? Yet an argument is built upon the authorship of these chapters. Is not 1 Sam. x. 25 also a very doubtful witness? Finally, to argue that the compiler of the books of Kings, who judges history from the Deuteronomic standpoint, is guilty of *pia fraus*, if at least UD was not known to the actors in that history, seems far from conclusive.

2. Those who have any wish to transport themselves in imagination back for a little to the ideas of an age that has gone never to return, might do worse than read Stosch's *Alttest. Studien*. The book is not dull reading, far from it. People who prefer facts to fancies and scientific investigations to *a priori* theories will be apt to turn away, however, from a book which accepts of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a first principle, and calmly sets aside all distinction of J, E, or P as worse than trifling. If we may believe Pfarrer Stosch, those who accept of such distinctions are guided to their decision not by linguistic, historical, or archæological considerations, but by such laudable motives as an instinct for destruction, a craving after novelty, or an impatience of the supernatural. Such scholars as Driver, Cheyne, and Davidson will, doubtless, take to heart the remark that even when their hypotheses put on the sheep's clothing of piously-sounding phrases, they yet retain the wolf's nature. Not that our author himself can be charged with failing to offer us novelties, such as the probable (*sic*) theory that Moses in writing Genesis used up the notes of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or the grotesque explanation of Zipporah's circumcision of her son. As for the supernatural he simply revels in it. Where for him are any difficulties connected with the marshalling of the people for the Exodus? And woe to those who seek by naturalistic explanations to facilitate the passage of the Red Sea!

Professors Budde and Cheyne will note that it is extremely probable that the first sketch of the Book of Job came from the hand of Moses, and no one need waste any more speculation on the origin of the name Jahweh after the "crystal-clear" explanation of Stosch (p. 34). We fear, however, that the general verdict will be that, however interesting the book may be as exhibiting a survival of beliefs that are generally dead, its value for living needs is *nil*.

J. A. SELBIE.

### **Beiträge zur Israelitischen und Jüdischen Religionsgeschichte.**

*Von Lic. Dr Ernst Sellin, Privatdozent der Theologie in Erlangen. Heft I. Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 237. Price, M.4.*

### **Des Rätsels Lösung, oder Beiträge zur richtigen Lösung des Pentateuchrätsels für den christlichen Glauben und die Wissenschaft.**

*Erste Abteilung: Die Lösung für den Christenglauben, oder das Zeugniß Jesu Christ und der Apostel. Von Eduard Rupprecht. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 278. Price, M.3.60.*

### **Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.**

*Beurtheilung der Schrift von J. Wellhausen, 1894. Von Dr theol. Adolph Zahn. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 154. Price, 2s.*

DR SELLIN makes a careful and scholarly contribution to the discussion of some of the theological problems of the old Testament. On matters literary and critical he uncompromisingly accepts the conclusions of the advanced critical school. "We cannot," he says, "disown the fruits of decades of strenuous and conscientious labour. There is a great sum of firmly established critical results, received by almost all thoughtful enquirers, however widely they may otherwise differ, and still greater unanimity may be expected in the future" (8). But with regard to the leading theological problems no such harmony reigns. The points which Dr Sellin sets himself to investigate in the first part of his work, are these: Was the relation between Jahweh and ancient Israel established by an act of divine grace? Was it from the first morally conditioned? Was it dissoluble in time? The naturalistic theologians, as is well known, answer all these questions in the negative; Dr Sellin answers them in the affirmative. While his opponents think they can point to a period of several centuries after Moses, in which Israel, like the other Semitic races, regarded their God as the natural father and king of the people, he replies that this can be done "only by the most complete and violent ignoring of the specific peculiarities of the relation between Israel and their God, and that this people, throughout the whole course of its existence, bears the

motto, 'by grace,' not 'by nature'" (60). Starting from the usual naturalistic statement that the religion of Israel is the "creation" of the prophets, Dr Sellin declines to believe in what he characterises as a "creatio ex nihilo"; shows that the prophets always take their stand upon ancient principles; that they are never accused of being innovators; that their appeal to history is not disallowed; and from these facts he infers that there was no wide gulf fixed between the prophetic and the popular religion of the 8th century, the people of the time being no such "mass of perdition" as his opponents appear to suppose. After a pretty extensive survey of the oldest traditions, Dr Sellin finds that "the twofold consciousness, (1) that the relation between Jahweh and Israel was not simply given by nature, but founded in a historical act of divine grace, and (2) that the disturbances of the relation were not brought about by the arbitrary will of Jahweh, but caused by the religious and moral faults of the people, is the red line which runs through the whole history and literature of Israel" (75). The idea of the *covenant* no doubt "had its own history in Israel," but the kernel of the matter is already contained in the great event of which the vivid recollection remained among the people, and upon which the whole religious consciousness rested. What was that event? Dr Sellin holds that Ex. xix., &c., is to be regarded as historical "at least thus far: that the tribes of Israel received at Sinai, amid miraculous events and through the mediation of Moses, the impression and assurance that Jahweh was drawing near to them and choosing them for his people" (70). From the first these new impressions and impulses were embodied in the Ten Words. "From the hour of its birth the religion of Israel was exalted above the religions of the nations, and bore in itself the germ which was to become the religion of the world." The writer strengthens his argument in the second part of his book by an able discussion of the question of the relation of Jahweh to the individual. He finds that "from of old" Jahweh rewarded and punished individuals on moral grounds, not from such arbitrary motives as envy, &c., as the naturalistic critics contend. "Jahweh is from the first the enemy of sin, the holy avenger of everything wicked in the people, and in the individual. . . . He is not only the greatest and wisest, but the ethically holy" (237). Readers will not fail to be impressed by the earnest and candid spirit of the author. He knows that he will be regarded as unscientific, and accused of dogmatic prejudice; but he is driven by the facts to the conclusion which he here sets forth (234). His work is a real contribution to the solution of these pressing problems.

Rupprecht's one aim in life is to prove that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. His former treatises on the subject have been, he

admits, "thoroughly polemical." But returning from the rout of the critics, he announces his intention to take the trowel in his right hand for a while. *Doch das Schwert in der Linken!* In the present work he undertakes to prove the Mosaic authorship from the New Testament. It is unnecessary to state his arguments, which are pretty old and worn. How much the writer vexes himself in vain may be seen if we quote two of his sentences. "The credibility of the Old Testament," he says, "depends upon the inspiration of the authors, by which it is guaranteed that the contents are not the word of this or that profane author, but much rather the word, the writing of God Himself to His Church. The inspired character of the Pentateuch is inconceivable if it does not come from the time of Moses and from Moses himself." In other words, if a writer was so modest and self-oblivious as to leave his work anonymous, his work is to be regarded as profane and unauthoritative. This is imposing strange limitations on the Holy Spirit. Perhaps the most readable part of this book is the long preface, in which the author replies to the criticisms which have been showered upon his earlier works. In this country we are unaccustomed to the amenities with which a theological debate is sometimes conducted in Germany. Two things stick in this writer's throat: one professor has dared to accuse him of a want of "Christian mildness," another has called him a "theological clown." But what of that, when he knows that his books "are read in Norway, America, and even in Rome?"

But Rupprecht has, doubtless to his great surprise, discovered a comrade in Dr Adolph Zahn. This writer introduces himself somewhat mysteriously. "There are," he says, "but two grave-diggers in Germany, my humble self and Rupprecht, who have the difficult task of burying the many slain of the army of Gog, whom the word of God has slain, in the 'valley of the wanderers,' so that they who pass through may not be hindered. And we call to each other the while, 'Here is still a bone and there,' and set up a sign by it. Since no one else has been found in all the land to bury the slain, we have undertaken the comfortless but necessary work. For the land must yet be cleansed." This is a most singular instance of the fulfilment of prophecy. There has hitherto been much doubt as to the identity of the weird people whom Ezekiel saw in his vision of the last things. But the mystery is solved by Dr Zahn: Gog and Magog are German critics. In this little volume Dr Zahn attempts to deal with the works of Wellhausen, Wildeboer, Nowack, and others. He is evidently a devout man, but his whole mode of reasoning is unconvincing. One example of his judgment and taste may suffice. "Our Lord," he says, "gave no academic lectures, nor did he express himself about the authorship of the

prophets, but he gave a religious judgment upon Isaiah, and in a religious book that judgment is the first and weightiest. If an academic person comes to another conclusion than the Lord—if in his opinion the book of Isaiah is not Isaianic, he may say everything good or bad of a scientific kind about the book, but he will be repudiated by Christians" (p. 6). One cannot, then, divide the book of Isaiah and remain a Christian. O grave-digger!

J. STRACHAN.

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**(1.) Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus.**

*Von Lic. Dr. Theodor Simon. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 118. Price, M.2.80.*

**(2.) Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus.**

*Von Lic. Theolog. Paul Wernle. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Akadem. Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr; 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, M.2.50.*

**(3.) Beiträge zum Verständnis der Soteriologischen Erfahrungen und Spekulationen des Apostels Paulus.**

*Eine Theologische Studie von Wilhelm Karl. Strasburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 116. Price, M.3.*

THE above are the most recent contributions that have come to us from Germany to the understanding of Paulinism. Each of these works is characterised by that thoroughness that we expect to find in German work, and which has yielded already important results in this special field. Whatever may be thought of Paul's theology in this country at the present moment, it is certain that abroad there is no department of theological thought that has more enthusiastic students.

1. Simon's book on the *Psychology of the Apostle Paul* is a valuable little manual, and is both thorough and popular in style. Indeed I do not know any book in which this somewhat difficult and complicated subject is treated with so much simplicity and clearness. Illustration is here and there used that casts a real light on the matter in hand. The author has the advantage of being well acquainted with modern psychology. He is alive to the importance of recognising the close connection between body and

soul on which psychologists insist ; and in mapping out the different faculties or potencies of the soul, he avoids the error into which the untrained student sometimes falls of speaking of these as separate substances or entities. A sentence or two will show the point of view of the author. "In Paul," he says, "we have the psychology of the Bible in its most developed form. If John may be called the Metaphysician among the Apostles, Paul is the Psychologist. In all that he writes there is a fine psychological vision with which he traces and penetrates into the meaning of the events of the inner life of the soul. For the most part he looks at the facts of salvation from the view point of their psychological working, their influence on the psychic life of man, on his thought, feeling and action. If it is rightly demanded of psychology that it rests on the observation of facts, on experience, the Pauline psychology fulfils this demand. Only, the experience of Paul is of a higher sort. Ordinary psychology seeks to investigate psychic events that allay themselves to all sorts of outward conditions of greater or less importance. . . . Paul, however, observes the attitude of the human soul under the influence of infinitely more important conditions. He knows and teaches how sin and grace, life and death operate on men, and determine the psychic life even to its inmost depths. His doctrines are not woven out of pre-conceived principles, but they rest on experience ; a rich material of experience pours in upon him from the entire life of man, and especially from the experience of his own inner heart." His arrangement of this material is simple and comprehensive. (1) He deals with the outward and bodily nature of man as the foundation of the inner nature ; (2) with this inner nature of man, which has its seat, to use Biblical language, in the "heart," and is determined, on the one hand, by the *ψυχή* or life, by which it is related to the material body ; and, on the other hand, by the *πνεῦμα* or spirit to which belongs freedom and independence of the body, and by which it is related to God and the spiritual world ; (3) in the third division of his subject he deals with the special states that are due to sin and grace. In the discussion of these subjects there is a great deal that is fresh and suggestive as well as important for the understanding of the structure of the Apostle's thought. A translation of this little volume would form a valuable addition to theological literature.

2. The work of Wernle on *The Christian and Sin according to Paul* is a singularly interesting production, and although extreme in some of its positions cannot fail to be read with profit. It contains a discussion of an aspect of Paulinism which, the author complains, has been overlooked by writers on New Testament theology



with the single exception of Ritschl, who at least has stated the problem. "It is of the highest interest," Wernle says, "to know how the classic period of our religion, in particular the Apostle Paul, answers the questions, 'Does the Christian still sin? Does Grace put an end to sin? Does the Christian obtain the grace of God after he sins? How does he become free from sin? How is the Church related to the sinner? Does it in spite of sin continue to be the Church of the saints? How does it deal with the Christian who sins?'" (p. 4). The first part of the book is devoted to the question of Paul's own personal relation to sin in so far as it can be answered from his epistles. He concludes his examination of passages thus: "If Paul, after he became a Christian, felt himself constantly to be a sinner or prayed daily for forgiveness, he has certainly repressed every trace of this feeling in his epistles. He nowhere writes of a personal continued striving with sin, he nowhere expresses the need of comfort or of renewed forgiveness. Sin is the thing that belongs to a past with which he has now no more to do" (p. 15). "If he had thought otherwise he would not have brought the new life of Christians into line with the life of the risen Christ (Rom. vi.). Sinlessness is for him an attribute that should belong to the regenerate as well as to Jesus" (p. 16). How did Paul come to take this view? the author's answer is that he was an "enthusiast." He had the most vivid faith in the near approach of the *παρουσία* of Christ. Already possessed by the Spirit he had the pledge therein of the glory shortly to dawn on the world. "This enthusiastic realisation of the end and the accompanying fulness of his spiritual life lifted him above the feeling of want. Not that he boasted of his sinlessness though there is no confession of sin. He recognised that his experience was what it was because Jesus lived in him.

He goes on to show from the evidence of the Epistles that Paul simply transferred this remarkable experience of his own to Christians, and expected them to be such as he himself was. His intercourse with the Corinthian and other churches indeed opened his eyes to the fact that the Real did not correspond with the Ideal and that Christians sinned. But his optimism, based on his conviction of the near coming of Christ when all would go well, hindered him being seriously disturbed by the facts; he enjoins upon believers the moral standard of Christianity, reminding them that he had the means of realising it, but the problem, what of the sins we have committed since we have believed, is never faced by him, he does not go back to preach again repentance and forgiveness. "Such lapses from their state as dead with Christ and alive unto God were brief transient disturbances that did not radically affect the perfection of the believer or the Church." "Paul explains

the Ideal as the one legitimate reality ; as such he had experience of it, as such it must prove to be, in all believers Christians are people who by the Spirit have obtained definite victory, whom sin and the law no longer affect. This is the first and last with him " (p. 90). In this doctrinaire treatment the problem of sin in the Christian life does not exist for him, he does not see it, the enthusiasm of the new life must carry the believer victoriously over the short interval that intervened before Christ came.

W. argues that Paul's was essentially a "missionary theology" : he preached justification or salvation by the free gift of God ; and this, followed by the enthusiasm of the spirit, the immediate har-binger of the *παρουσία* of Christ was all sufficient. "In the brief time before that event sin can have no place in the Christian, for God will help them to the goal" (p. 29).

The belief in the sinlessness of Christians, then, according to the author, was engendered in the peculiar religious atmosphere which Paul breathed, by the extraordinary vividness of his eschatological expectations. It could not survive a change of atmosphere when the Church no longer cherished the expectation of the end. Accordingly, at the Reformation, when the "enthusiasm" was wanting, and when the theoretical conception of the Christian life had been corrected by the actual facts of history, the Reformers denied the possibility of perfection in this life. They laid the stress on the fact that the Christian, in spite of remaining sin, may be a child of God ; while Paul held that he is already taken out of sin, and has already entered upon the life of the future. With the Reformers, faith held the place that Paul assigns to the Spirit. "The piety of Paul is mainly this, Walking in the *Spirit*, hence unrest, enthusiasm, the blending of future and present. The piety of Luther is faith, the steadfast trust of the heart in God in joy and sorrow, in life and death" (p. 25).

Towards the conclusion, W. compares the doctrine of Paul with that of Jesus on this point. "Paul," he says, "paints human nature in its unregenerate state in darker colours than Jesus did, while he represents Christians as much better than they appeared to the eye of the latter." No such statement as that of our Lord, no one is good but God only, is ever applied by Paul to Christians ; one seeks in vain in him for any trace of the Lord's Prayer, the distance between the pneumatic man and God is represented as much less than it is by Jesus. . . . He had not anything like that feeling for the real that Jesus had, and that distinguished the great prophets. This is the reason why he, the profoundest and the most spiritual theologian of the Christian religion, has exercised an influence upon the course of the Church that is only partially a beneficent one" (p. 127-8). It is impos-

sible, without entering upon detail, to criticise these views. But one feels that throughout the "enthusiasm" of Paul is commended at the expense of his discernment of human nature and his sanity of judgment. Wernle has not said the last word on these matters, but he has given us a book that affords abundant food for meditation. One interesting point he has drawn attention to, the influence upon the religious thinking of the Apostle, and as a regulative principle of the Christian life in apostolic times, of the realization of the Parousia of Christ.

3. Karl's *Beiträge* covers more ground than either of the preceding, as will be seen from the titles of the chapters:—(1) The Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ, (2) the moral consequences of this Indwelling, (3) its religious consequences, (4) the religious Anthropology of the Apostle Paul, (5) the meaning of the Death of Christ, (6) the Mysticism of the Apostle. The work is full of original thinking. Its conclusions are not in most cases the generally accepted ones, but the writer is earnest in his purpose, and will be found suggestive even where one differs from him. "The Pauline Christology," he states at the outset, "is not arbitrary speculation, but experience; it consists of judgments of experience which certainly have been expressed in the forms of the speculations of that day. These forms are not binding upon us; we do not share them. But the experience that lies at the basis of them becomes also our experience" (p. 12). This distinction is observed throughout. The fundamental fact of the Christian life is the personal Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ. This Indwelling is conceived of by Paul as that of the real personality of Christ (after the analogy of the New Testament possession by Demons). He who thus dwells in us renews his own moral life, imparting to us a "sort of moral impeccability." He dwells in his entirety, and the constant moral renewal is complete from the first; development in the Christian life is not a Pauline thought. The "ekstasy" accompanying the Spirit's indwelling is discussed, and K. points out (as Gunkel has done) that it is Paul's great merit to have distinguished between the ekstatic and moral effects of the Spirit, and attached a value for salvation only to the latter. As regards the *religious* effects of the Indwelling, he maintains it to be Paul's doctrine that we are justified on the ground of the Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ and the consequent moral renewal. God declares us to be righteous because the reception of the Spirit has made us right. If it is objected that this is contrary to the Apostle's teaching that we are justified by faith, the author replies, No, for faith itself is one of the effects of the Indwelling of Christ, and is used to describe the whole Christian life that flows from it. "One must regard faith

as simply another term for the indwelling of Christ in us (for so has Paul understood it), and in particular as expressing moral renewal; the mere recognition of Christ as Crucified and Risen has no value for salvation, but what lies below it, the new pneumatic ethical life, the new creature. He argues that it is renewal that brings us forgiveness, only as renewed do we feel that past sin is forgiven." Only he can receive forgiveness of sin who is in a position to feel his forgiveness. Only he feels it who knows his sin. Only he knows it who is in grace. Therefore it will not do to say, "first forgiveness then renewal, for there is no forgiveness without renewal" (p. 53).

In summing up under this head, the author offers a criticism of Paul's doctrine of the Indwelling of Christ in us. We cannot conceive of it, he says, as he did, for he regarded it as the Indwelling of Christ as an entire person in complete personal activity. On this view, all progress or development in the Christian life was an impossibility—Christ dwelt either entirely or not at all. We can be renewed, indeed, only through Christ's Indwelling; but to understand this aright, theological science must take into account the laws of the religious life, and the conditions on which the growth of the divine life depends. Much remains to be done in this direction. The author attaches a high value to the work of the late Professor Drummond in this connection.

In his chapter on the religious anthropology of Paul, our author maintains that the apostle exaggerates the sinfulness of human nature. "It looks as if speculation drove him to this: 'because through Christ all is perfect, without Christ all is absolutely bad.' But speculation demands as the background of redemption not the absolute, but only the actual sinfulness of human nature" (p. 59). He thinks that Paul held that the flesh is in itself sinful, but here again he sees the influence of speculation. Paul perceived that the indwelling of Christ does not prevent the death of the body; and viewing sin and death as causally connected, he inferred that the flesh was, *per se*, sinful, and doomed to perish.

Coming to the chapter on the significance of the death of Christ, our author says that this must be learned from the effects of Christ's death in our experience. These effects we have seen are moral and religious, and are wrought out by the Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ. Christ died then that we might receive the Spirit and that Christ might live in us. These, indeed, are fruits of the risen Christ; Christ therefore died that He might rise again and effect our renewal by His Indwelling. Again, the forgiveness of sins, the religious effect of Christ's death is inseparable from our renewal. Christ's death is therefore the condition of the forgiveness of sin, inasmuch as it is the indispensable condition of the resurrection, of

Christ's becoming Spirit, of his indwelling and our renewal. He denies that Paul taught the doctrine that the substitutionary bearing of men's sin was necessary to satisfy the divine righteousness. "The idea that God's grace required this before forgiveness could follow would be a limitation of His absoluteness, as well as a degradation of his ethical nature, such as I cannot attribute to the great apostle, apart from the fact that he does not recognise the separation between forgiveness and renewal, but sees forgiveness accomplished in renewal" (p. 74). Righteousness with Paul is not a forensic attribute but a gracious one. Sacrificial terms are used by the apostle, but only as figures of speech. In summing up on this point he says: "It is impossible to understand our Lord's death otherwise or to express it more beautifully than Paul has done. We also confess, without this fearful death none of the consequences would have come to us that make us so blessed. We must grant that the pneumatic activity of Christ was possible only through His death. He must die that He might live. And by Life Paul means Working. Hence His death is in any case the condition of our renewal, therefore of the forgiveness of our sins; in short, the necessary condition of our salvation. And if we, looking more narrowly into it, compare the death of Christ with the consequences that have followed, we will not hesitate to apply to His death the old image of a sacrifice, whether of the sin offering or the covenant offering. We join in the praise of Christ with those in the ancient and modern times who have applied to Him these images" (p. 85).

I must pass over the chapter on the mysticism of the apostle, which contains much that is interesting and much that will be disputed.

I have mentioned only some of the salient points of this little book, but these will suffice to show its divergence in important particulars from the usual reading of Paulinism. One great merit it has, it emphasises the supreme place in Paul's thought and in his apprehension of the Christian life of the Indwelling of Christ in believers.

D. SOMERVILLE.

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**Italian Christian Literature.**

STORIA DEI VALDESI. *By E. Comba, D.D. Firenze: Libreria Claudiana, 1893; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.*

CLAUDIO DI TORINO. *By the same, 1895.*

I NOSTRI PROTESTANTI. *By the same. Parte Prima, 1896; Parte Seconda, 1897. Price, L.It.3.50 and 5.*

THE great need of Italy, as her own patriots admit, is a moral backbone. "Il primo bisogno di Italia," says the Marquis d'Azeglio, in the Preface to his *Ricordi*, "è che si formino Italiani dotati d'albi e forti caratteri." Much has been done since the country attained its political unity by various native and foreign Christian agencies to give it the Gospel, which alone can make new creatures either of nations or individuals. These agencies, however, are necessarily addressed to—or at least seem mainly to reach—the humbler and less influential class of the community. Dr Comba, who is Professor of Church History in the Waldensian College of Florence, has been for some years making a worthy attempt to reach the more cultured and intellectual of his countrymen. He first published in French, in 1887, his *Histoire des Vaudois*, of which an English translation was reproduced by True-love & Shirley, London, two years later. In 1889 appeared his *Henri Arnaud, Sa Vie et ses Lettres*, a quarto pamphlet of 80 pp. In 1893 the former was issued in condensed form in Italian; and next year we understand he contemplates publishing a greatly revised edition of this work in a volume of at least 500 pp. In 1895 he produced *Claudio di Torino*, pp. 155, which he describes as "the first attempt at a reconstruction of the biography of that great witness to the Gospel against idolatry." And at present he is busily occupied with his *magnum opus*, *I Nostri Protestanti*, which will run into five or perhaps seven volumes, of which the first two have already seen the light. His object is to show that Italy can boast of a bright array of Protestants or Protesters against the dominant apostasy, dating from long before the Reformation. "L'Italia ebbe nell' evo antico di fronte al papato nascente, nell' evo medio di fronte al papato gigante, nell' evo moderno di fronte al papato degenerare. E li ha tuttavia." Vol. I. treats of (1) The Origin of the Church of Rome and that of the Papacy; and (2) it gives a summary of the life and doctrines of "Erma, Ippolito, Novaziano, Gioviniano, Claudio, Arnaldo, Valdo, Gioacchino, Dolcino, Dante, Marsilio, and Savonarola." Vol. II. treats in a similar way the Reformers during the Reformation period in the provinces of Venice

and Istria—sixteen in all. The subsequent volumes will carry on the series down till recent times. Dr Comba wields a graphic pen, and it is needless to say that he brings both competent learning and southern enthusiasm to his self-imposed task. He has personally examined the archives of the Inquisition, and his second volume (pp. 700) is largely extracted from those of Venice, which contain upwards of 1000 processes for heresy. It has been the work of years, and has entailed upon the author no small amount of fatigue in travelling and of expenditure of money. The published result has been highly praised by Italian and German reviewers; and we should rejoice if more encouragement were given to such meritorious labours among ourselves. J. GIBSON.

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**Anz, Wilhelm. Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus, ein religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch.**

*Texte und Untersuchungen. Bd. XV. Heft 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. P. 112. Price, M.3.50.*

THE phenomena of Gnosticism well deserve all the attention which has been bestowed upon them, especially in the last four or five years. Its forms have long ago perished, and their husks are dry and forbidding enough to daunt all but the most zealous of students. But what if beneath these forms we are to discover a well-differentiated spirit older than Christianity, continuing even after the disappearance of Gnosticism, so called, to animate one of the two main currents of heretical thought, which have flowed parallel with the Church down to our own day. Paulicians, Bogomiles, Catharists, Albigenses, all down to certain sporadic sects and well-defined tendencies in the nineteenth century, serve themselves heir to the spirit of Gnosticism, expressing itself intellectually in an inherent dualism and ethically in an equal propensity to asceticism and libertinism.

Former writers on Church history have obscured or denied this filiation, as well as obliterated the human interest of the subject, by fixing attention mainly or exclusively on the external machinery of the systems. In their hands Gnosticism became a kind of inverted Chinese puzzle of endless intricacy, a dry and wearisome mechanism of aeons and emanations, the purpose of which was to build a bridge by a series of infinitesimal gradations between Spirit and Matter. At best a speculative theosophy, at worst an incredible mythogony, the Gnostic system so treated not only



presents a hopeless confusion to the mind of the student, but leaves unexplained the problem how such a system could ever threaten Christianity with a dangerous rival, or inspire communities analogous to the Church.

Closer and more sympathetic study of late years has established three points which, though not absolutely new, are new in the emphasis laid upon them, and in the attachments which they lay bare between Gnosticism and human needs and between Gnosticism and human history. These points are the strong Oriental element which combined with Hellenic and Judaic factors in developed Gnosticism, the strong *practical* tendency of the system as a whole, and the development of thought both within particular systems and in the advance from one to another.

The contribution of Dr Anz is based upon the recognition of these three points, and directed to the discovery of the ultimate source of Gnosticism. This source has been already sought in every possible direction;—in a direct continuation of Pauline Gnosis (Hilgenfeld), in a development of Jewish (heretical) speculation, in Christianised Greek mysteries (“Gnosticismus ein Christlicher Orphismus”: Wobbermin), in Syro-samaritan eclecticism, and in Babylonian combinations of religion and magic. For Harnack Gnosticism is the acute form of that Hellenisation of Christianity of which early Catholicism is the more moderate result.

The very multiplicity of these suggestions shows the inherent eclecticism of the movement. But Gnosticism differs from many other eclectic movements in the absence of any central point round which its diverse elements might be said to crystallise. No commanding personality appears to speak the compelling word. No sudden crisis in human affairs seems to have precipitated the network of thought out of the fluid dreams of the age. It is easy to say that Gnosticism was “in the air,” and to observe that all its elements were actually present in the minds of various men or races. And if there was no point round which they concentrated, was there perhaps a thread running through and connecting all the manifestations of the Gnostic spirit; and if we find such a thread, and follow it backwards, whither does it lead us?

It is from considerations and questions such as these that Dr Anz’s investigation starts. He proposes to ascertain the “central idea,” which may be said to dominate at least the earlier forms, and subordinate to itself the other elements. He is not to be discouraged, though this central idea seems to recede from its position in process of later development, or even if it disappear in the latest forms. He respects a remonstrance of Harnack in drawing his evidence more from the Gnostic documents themselves than from the patristic impugnors of the system, and finds a clue to the

central idea in the emphasis which they agree in laying on the practical, moral, or redemptive fruits of the system. The first half of his book, therefore, is devoted to the proof of his theory that the central idea of early Gnosticism was this: How the thirst of the soul for redemption from the dominion of matter could be met by the provision of means for such redemption. The ascent of the soul into the seventh heaven of spiritual being, what hindered it, and how could it be achieved? "The primary object of this Gnosis is not to provide answers to the inquiries of a thirst for knowledge pressing forward beyond the limits of rational comprehension, but to point the way and means for the deliverance of the soul" (p. 24).

We have to realise, therefore, a curious reversal of direction. Instead of an ever-increasing number of steps, down which the divine Spirit descends to come into contact with matter, and be manifested in Jesus, we are to see a succession of stages (likewise increasing in number) through which the soul ascends. At each stage the way is barred by a closed portal, a "fiery gateway," or by a "power," the Archon of that stage. The escape of the soul depends on its being able to overcome each Archon in turn, and the means to this is provided by the Gnosis and the Mysteries. In fact, life here is "just a chance of the prize of learning" the watch-words, the mystic and meaningless formulas by which each gateway might be passed in turn. The knowledge of these and of the Archons' names forms the important element in Gnosis, while the mysteries (in Christian Gnosticism the Sacraments) are the seals, the *σφραγίδες* which the Archon is bound to recognise as "signa regni ineffabilis" (*cf.*, *Pistis Sophia*, p. 338).

The redemptive function of Jesus, therefore, consisted in the delivery of these sacramental seals and the communication of this knowledge. This is most clearly set forth in the Hymn of the Naassenes, which, though belonging to a later stage, reflects here the earliest form of Gnosticism. In this Hymn Jesus is made to describe the purpose of His coming thus:—

*σφραγίδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι  
αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδέσω  
μυστήρια πάντα διανοίξω  
μορφὰς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω  
καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ  
γνώσιν καλέσας παραδώσω*

Dr Anz traces this idea and its connections as they appear with greater or less distinctness in connection with the various Gnostic schools and in various authorities. It appears most plainly in

Origen's account of the Ophites, in which are given the names of the seven Archons and the formulas for passing them. So in the widely circulated Gnostic "Gospel of Philip" we find this declaration: "The Lord revealed to me what the soul must say when it ascends into heaven, and how it is to answer each one of the higher powers." The communication of this knowledge to disciples of the Gnostic sects was the result of various stages of initiation, each of them connected with a particular "mystery." It is the later documents, such as Pistis Sophia and the Books of Jeû, which throw most light upon the character and significance of the Gnostic mysteries. They were effective *ex opere operato*. They bestowed on a man the indelible sign of his membership of the spiritual kingdom. It was possible even to secure the deliverance and ascent of a dead man's soul, even of an unbeliever by pronouncing certain mystic formulas over his head. In fact it was never too late for a dead man's believing relatives to obtain his release from this Gnostic Purgatory, by performing a mystery (p. 29).

There can be little doubt that in the Archons in the original group of seven, we have a reference to the seven planets. This is confirmed by the names and the attributes ascribed to some of them. And though others of the names appear hopelessly unmeaning and unrelated, future comparison and investigation might yield good results. The character of these names and the importance assigned to them, as well as the whole system of mystic spells will be found well illustrated in a Coptic spell of the second century, published and translated in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Antiquity for June. The grounds on which Mr Legge excludes Gnostic authorship seem hardly convincing.

Such a system would obviously be an easy prey to fantasy and self-interested priestcraft. The number of spheres, barriers, and corresponding Archons and mysteries multiplied with amazing rapidity. In the period and school represented by Pistis Sophia (*i.e.*, the third century) we find the number risen to 365. In this direction Gnosticism degenerated into fantastic superstition and the hocus-pocus of magic.

Parallel with this development of Gnosticism, which may very well have been accelerated at least by contact and rivalry with the Greek mysteries, there seems to have been development along another line conditioned by Greek speculation. In the school of Valentinus the idea of Gnosis took a predominantly intellectual direction. The bond was snapped which had hitherto united so closely together Gnosis and Mysteries, and since its disciples continued to see in Gnosis the all-important redemptive element the question soon arose, what was the value of the mysteries. But even in the Valentinian system in which Gnosis became a theosophy,

a purely speculative system, there remain survivals of earlier ideas which justify Irenæus in deriving the Valentinians from the Ophites, and testify to the persistence of the central idea. A striking illustration of this lies in the fact that though the Valentinians held the existence of only one Demiurge they gave to him the name 'Εβδομάς and Achamoth is 'Ογδοάς. For the Valentinian baptism opens an unimpeded way into the Pleroma.

In this way Dr Anz both establishes his "central idea" and accounts for its gradual retrocession. As a redemptive religion with its pessimistic judgment of earthly life and its yearning after a higher, the Gnostic conception found sympathy everywhere in the world of that time. But when it came to spread itself abroad over the Hellenic Christian world it necessarily lost its original character. In the circle of Christianity nothing was known of the dominion of planets and constellations. Among the Greeks, if the idea was not unknown, it was not felt as a distressing problem. And so the Greek questions with which these races, were really struggling, the antithesis between Spirit and Matter, the antithesis between Grace and Law, insinuated themselves almost unperceived beneath the form of Gnosticism. Jewish-Christian and Greek philosophical influence alike combine to reduce the seven world-powers to one Demiurge, and so destroy the original doctrine of the ascent of the soul through the seven heavens. In a word, the historical process would be, not the corruption of Christianity into Gnosticism, but the partial conversion of Gnosticism by contact with Christianity.

The theory is an attractive one, and it is worked out with much skill and copious illustration from Gnostic literature. Nevertheless, the doubt remains whether this idea which Dr Anz has isolated can really be described as the central doctrine of Gnosticism in any of its Christian forms. It may have been central to some of its pre-Christian forms, and we think Dr Anz has shown that it was. But after all did it do more than provide a *nidus* for the leaven of Christian conceptions? Is not the difference which is involved in the dominant position assigned to Christ in the subsequent forms, too profound to admit of our assuming a continuous development?

In the second half of his book Dr Anz proceeds to seek for the home of this central and, as he thinks, original idea in Gnosticism. He has not much difficulty in finding it, by a process of exclusion, in Babylon. A doctrine which is so intimately related to magic and astrology may very well find its source in a land in whose own religion astrology and magic played so dominant a part. Incidentally Dr Anz brings forward proofs that the Babylonian religion persisted long after the date when it has been supposed to disappear. Traces of it are not infrequent in the first century before Christ. An examination of the Mandaean religion and of the Mithras

mysteries, as described especially by Celsus, yields many striking parallels to Gnostic notions. The κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος by which the Mithras devotee ascended to heaven may have been due to a spiritualising of the seven-staged temple at Babel, or conversely the temple with its seven stages each connected with a planet-God may have been a material representation of the religious system. Dr Anz thinks the former is the true view, that it was a case of architecture sublimated into doctrine.

Nevertheless the central doctrine of Gnosticism did not arise on the soil of pure Babylonian religion. It is itself a product of eclecticism, a heresy derived from Babylonian religion, through protest against its astrological determinism. Brought to Asia Minor in the first instance probably by Chaldaean magicians, it comes to the surface of history in Simon, Saturnilus, and Basilides. After a long period of quiet working it suddenly appears as a strong force in Ophite Gnosticism, and develops, as we have seen, with endless modifications into the metaphysical theosophy of Valentinus.

It will be seen that the importance of Dr Anz's contribution lies in his definitely assigning the *differentia* of Gnosticism to an extra-Christian and extra-Hellenic source. The system would no longer appear either as a corruption of Christianity or as a *pot pourri* of contemporary speculation. It becomes a tangent to the circle of Christian truth touching it at the one point where it made Jesus the mediator of Gnosis or Christ the manifestation of the Spirit. "It should not be forgotten that Gnosticism was the first great spiritual power which recognised the significance of Christianity, even though the latter in the name of her own self-preservation was obliged to reject its homage" (p. 110). The ghost of Paganism wrapped itself in robes of Christian terminology, appropriated the sacraments as mysteries of initiation, and added the name of Christ to its muttered incantations.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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### Notices.

THE very useful series of Historical Monographs known as *Eras of the Christian Church*, which we owe to American enterprise and the editorial skill of Dr John Fulton, the author of a learned treatise on the "Chalcedonian Decree," proceeds rapidly towards its completion. The last three issues on this side of the Atlantic are, each in its own way, works of merit. One of these, *The Age of the Renaissance*,<sup>1</sup> supplies a want that has been long felt, and supplies it well. It might have been improved by giving fuller and more precise information at certain points, especially in matters of topo-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 397. Price, 6s.

graphy and chronology. But as a popular study it is well done, and it will form a good introduction to larger and more learned treatises like that of Bishop Creighton. Begun by Dr Henry van Dyke, who writes the Introduction, it passed into the hands of Mr Paul van Dyke. In fulfilling his commission the latter has kept faithfully by the general idea of the series, which is to give a "bird's-eye view" of the epoch. It is correctly described, therefore, by the sub-title as "An Outline Sketch of the History of the Papacy from the Return from Avignon to the Sack of Rome" (1377-1527). The tenth volume of the series is on *The Anglican Reformation*,<sup>1</sup> and the writer is Dr William Clark, Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto, the translator of Hefele's "History of the Councils of the Church." Professor Clark's subject is a more familiar one than Mr van Dyke's. He handles it, however, with much force. It is also a subject in which ecclesiastical and doctrinal prepossession is the more apt to make itself felt. The author is by no means free of bias. He seeks, however, to be just, and gives on the whole a reasonable view of his subject from the Anglican standpoint. Perhaps the least satisfactory parts of the volume are those dealing with Wyclif and with the Puritan movement. In both cases questions and forces of great moment are inadequately treated. The object of the book is to exhibit the great Episcopal Church of England as standing "upon the old ways, holding to the ancient principles of the Church, but refusing to identify mediaeval dogmas with primitive beliefs, and also refusing, under the pretext of loyalty to the Scriptures, to disregard the early customs and traditions of the Apostolic Church." The latter part of this sentence must seem to all but a certain section of the Church of England a rather amazing way of putting things. Dr Clark's final estimate of the century and a half that followed Henry's break with Rome, deserves to be noticed. He does not claim for the conspicuous figures of that period that they were often of heroic mould. He thinks highly enough, however, of them to be able to say that "it would be difficult to find, in any similar period of the history of mankind, and within the same compass, an equal number of men so highly distinguished by calm intelligence, extensive learning, a deep and sincere sense of duty to God and man, and a resolute and self-sacrificing devotion to the work to which they believed themselves called by the Providence and the Spirit of God."

The latest volume in the same Series is *The Age of Charlemagne*,<sup>2</sup> by Charles L. Wells, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 397. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xix. 472. Price, 6s.



Minnesota. Professor Wells has the good fortune to have to deal with a period which is of great intrinsic importance in several distinct points of view, and which, to multitudes of readers, has all the attractiveness of comparative novelty. The number and the variety of subjects which enter into the history of it make it at the same time a period by no means easy to treat with any adequacy in the compass of one of these volumes. Some of the larger and more extensive questions connected with the mission of the Franks, the formation of a Latin Christianity and a Latin Church, and the preparation for the later types of mediaeval and modern times, therefore, are left unconsidered. But, on the other hand, much attention is given to the political conditions, to the growth of the Papacy, especially on its temporal side, and to such topics as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Though the book retains the popular form which is required for the purposes of the Series, it takes the reader in many cases to the original sources, and gives him the means of judging of things for himself. The book is one of the most instructive volumes of the Series. It gives a good digest of the course of events; it exhibits the significance of the period; and it helps us to see very distinctly how the undermining of the imperial power, which seemed at first to strengthen the Papacy, worked to the opposite effect. "Like the air to the flying bird," is the author's last word, "was the imperial power to the papacy, and the weakness of the empire was followed in this, as in every instance, by papal demoralisation."

*Pre-Reformation Worthies*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a volume containing some interesting historical sketches by the Rev. W. Cowan, incumbent of St Augustine's, Londonderry, to which the Bishop of Derry contributes a short preface. The sketches are seven in number, and deal with Grosstête, Thomas à Kempis, Henry Suso, John Ruysbroek, Archbishop Fitzralph, Reuchlin, and John Staupitz. They are pleasant and unaffected in style, and make delightful reading. While popular in form, they show wide and appreciative reading, and give not merely biographies of these "Worthies," but expositions of their faith, their theology, and their several contributions to the preparation for the Reformation. The author's sympathies seem to be specially with the Mystics.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of *The Holy Bible*,<sup>2</sup> in the Messrs Macmillan's choice *Eversley Series*, are now to hand. These volumes complete the Old Testament, and do the highest possible credit both to publishers and to editor. Mr Mackail does all that it belongs to him to do with the utmost carefulness, with perfect

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. vii.-193. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Vol. iv., Job to Song of Solomon, pp. 408. Vol. v., Isaiah to Lamentations, pp. 336. Vol. vi., Ezekiel to Malachi, pp. 329. Price, 5s. per volume.



taste, too, and sound judgment. In form and in type this edition of the Old Testament Scriptures will please the most fastidious eye.

*Winning the Soul*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a volume by Professor Martin, of the New College, Edinburgh, containing twenty sermons. They belong to the best type of Scotch pulpit discourse—carefully planned and thought out, robust, earnest, upbuilding. There is some distinctive note in each of them. Most of them are distinguished by the original and unhackneyed way in which their subjects are handled. Among the most notable we should mention those on the “Divine Sanction of Human Sin” (John xiii. 27), the “Secret Ministry of God” (Psalm cxxvii. 2), “Touch Me Not” (John xx. 17), and the “Element of Necessity in the Life of Christ” (Luke iv. 23; John ix. 4; Luke xxiv. 7).

Mrs Emmanuel Christen gives us a very readable translation of Professor A. Sabatier’s suggestive lecture on *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas*,<sup>2</sup> the point of which is that dogma, which has a necessary place in Christianity, should be the expression of living Christian thought and experience, and that, in fulfilling their function, particular dogmatic forms pass through three kinds of change, some simply dying out as the ideas which they represent cease to be vital, others becoming modified or intensified in their meaning by what the author calls a process of “Intussusception,” and others emerging by the way of a revival of old formulas or the construction of new terms for the expression of new ideas.

Dr Hugh Macmillan’s pen is as unresting as ever, and maintains its old character for pleasant and edifying writing. *The Spring of the Day*,<sup>3</sup> his latest book, is intended to form a companion volume to *The Clock of Nature*, and deals with such subjects as lend themselves best to illustration by the things of nature. The titles of the chapters or discourses are inviting—“A Scorpion for an Egg,” “The Oxlip, or the Upward Look,” “The Nest of the Moth,” “The Beauty of Wings,” &c. The analogies are skilfully set forth; the spiritual lessons are unfolded in attractive terms; the book offers much that will help young readers, and not by any means these alone.

Dr Alexander Whyte has the happy faculty of finding out rare characters in the domain of religious work and religious authorship, and making them the familiar friends of many to whom they might, but for his enthusiasm, have remained unknown. In his *Father*

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 334. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> With a Preface by the Very Rev. the Hon. W. H. Freemantle, D.D., Dean of Ripon. London: A. & C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 5s.

*John*<sup>1</sup> he makes us acquainted with the most Reverent John Ilytch Sergieff, of St Andrew's Cathedral, Cronstadt, one of the most remarkable spiritual personalities that the immense Greek Church, which we are apt to think of as so stagnant and unproductive, has reared in our time. The small volume is very tasteful in form, and gives a notable "appreciation," with a series of selected passages from the Father's diary, which has been translated into English under the title of *My Life in Christ*.

Several new volumes are added to the *Guild Library*. One of these is a new edition of Dr James Robertson of Whittingehame's book on *Our Lord's Teaching*<sup>2</sup>—a brief but capable study of a great subject, a book which has deservedly secured a large circle of readers in its earlier form, and which in this enlarged and revised issue is made still more attractive. Another bears the title, *A Faithful Churchman*,<sup>3</sup> and is a memoir of the late Professor James Robertson, D.D. It is by Professor Charteris, and is in greater part an abridgment of the original *Life of Professor Robertson*, which is now out of print. The matter is wisely adapted to the purpose of the Series, and does justice to the strong man who is best known for the work he did on behalf of the Endowment Scheme of his Church. A third is a survey of *The Missionary Expansion of the Reformed Church*.<sup>4</sup> It is written by one who is himself a missionary, the Rev. J. A. Graham, M.A., of Kalimpong, India. Commencing with three brief, interesting chapters on "The Light of the World," the "Reformation and its Influence," and "Beginning at Jerusalem," the author notices what he aptly terms the *Earlier Calls through Empire*, and then proceeds to give a more particular account of Nineteenth Century Missions among Hindus and Buddhists, in the Dark Continent and in Islam, in the Southern Isles and in the New World. The book is well written throughout. It limits itself to the story of the Missions of the Reformed Churches, but it sets forth their principles while giving their history. It is made the more attractive by a large number of maps and well-chosen illustrations. A further addition to the same Series is made by Dr R. M. Wenley, Senior Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. It is entitled *The Preparation for Christianity in the Ancient World*.<sup>5</sup> It gives a vivid and well-proportioned sketch of a large and profoundly interesting subject. In his

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 83. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 189. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 208. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 246. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 169. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

introductory chapter Professor Wenley plants himself on the position that the Christian can have no firmer "foundation for his faith than that which rests immovable upon the historical influence issuing from the life of Christ." He then deals first with the Ethnic Preparation in three careful chapters on "Socrates as a Missionary of the human Spirit," "Greek Self-Criticism," and "Salvation by Wisdom," and then with the Jewish Preparation in a chapter which gives an excellent statement of the "Mission of the Jews" in contributing an "adequate conception of God and a vivid perception of the conditions under which alone religion can exist." This leads on to a series of studies on the "Advent of the Saviour," the "Preparation of the World," and the "Preparation of the Spirit." The closing chapter gives a succinct summary of results. It states how the "flood of preparation for Christianity flows steadily down the ages in three main streams"—the Greek, the Jewish, and the Roman; how the problem of Greek civilisation was that of man's freedom, and how that became at last the problem of personality; how the Jew's outlook upon life was made entirely different from that of the Greek by his belief in one personal, ethical God, and by the spiritual insight which was his "pearl of great price"; how Rome's "chiefest gift was unbending devotion to duty"; how Christ entered upon a "materially splendid, spiritually bankrupt," heritage; how He realised all the demands that were made upon Him; and how the work that He did bears witness to Him as the Son of the Living God. Professor Wenley leads a busy life. His pen is not slack, and this last book is one of the best bits of work he has yet done. It touches on some subjects, especially *Socrates*, of which he has already written well. It deals in a very effective way with others, in which he shows himself equally at home, and on which he says much to purpose.

We have received a new edition of Mr Charles L. Marson's volume on *The Psalms at Work*<sup>1</sup> (enlarged by an Appendix of fresh historical and biographical matter, illustrative of what the Psalter has been to many souls), the general merits of which, especially in the quality of the Notes, have been already referred to.<sup>2</sup> The fourth and fifth parts of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>3</sup> of which the one, the literature on Practical Theology for 1896, and the other, the index for the year—a most useful volume; the *first* part of Mr Somervell's *Parallel History of the Jewish*

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Vol iv., p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin und Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1897. Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst, Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, etc. 8vo, pp. 633-779. Price, M.7. Fünfte Abtheilung Register. 8vo, pp. 92, Price, M.

*Monarchy*<sup>1</sup> giving the story of the reigns of David and Solomon, according to the text of the Revised Version, as it appears by combining the two narratives contained in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, these being presented in parallel columns for the purpose of comparison when they deal with the same events—a carefully executed piece of work, well adapted for profitable use in schools; a pamphlet written with great precision, and furnished with admirable illustrations, on *Portraits of Christ in the British Museum*,<sup>2</sup> in which Mr Cecil Torr, M.A., directs attention to certain considerations favouring a return to the older Christian way of representing our Lord as of a much younger age when He fulfilled His official ministry; another addition to the *Heroine's Library* by Mr Frank Mundell, *Heroines of History*,<sup>3</sup> telling in a pleasant way the stories of the Maid of Saragossa, Queen Boadicea, Joan of Arc, Catherine Douglas, and others; *Who's Who*<sup>4</sup> for 1898, the second year of the new issue of a publication which has reached its jubilee, and in which a mass of information—political, ecclesiastical, educational, commercial, and, above all, biographical, brought carefully up to date and generally correct—is provided in compact and handy form for the information and entertainment of those interested in the careers of men who have made some mark in affairs or in literature; a popular study by Mr Henry H. Vowles<sup>5</sup> of the Biblical terms expressing the idea of the “Everlasting,” written in a racy style, sometimes wide enough of the real state of the case as regards the Hebrew and Greek words, but rejecting the theory of annihilation as repugnant both to Scripture and to reason, and coming at last to the conclusion that we may see the *doctrine* of “everlasting punishment” to be true; that the *words*, however, are not Biblical words; and that we should use such terms rather as “The worm dieth not,” “There is a great gulf fixed,” or say simply, that “some of the painful consequences of sin cannot but endure”; the *Students' Edition*<sup>6</sup> of Messrs Funk & Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*—a very

<sup>1</sup> Arranged by R. Somervell, M.A., Assistant Master and Bursar of Harrow School. With an Introduction reprinted from “The Literature of the Old Testament,” by S. R. Driver, D.D. London: Clay & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 109. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Clay & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. 14. Price, 1s net.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Douglas Sladen. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 846. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> “For Ever and Ever.” London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 1898. Price, 8s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> James C. Fernald, editor; Francis A. March, LL.D., consulting editor. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls. Small 4to, pp. 915.

useful and welcome edition of the larger work, giving the orthography, pronunciation, meaning, and etymology of many thousands of words, over 1200 pictorial illustrations, and an appendix of proper names, foreign phrases, faulty diction, disputed pronunciations, &c.—a dictionary to be commended; a third and revised edition of Dr Robert Young's laborious translation of *The Holy Bible*,<sup>1</sup> which proceeds on the principle of strict and consistent adherence to the letter and idioms of the original languages, content to sacrifice euphony at the shrine of truth; *God's Measure, and other Sermons*,<sup>2</sup> a volume of fourteen discourses on such subjects as "The Cloud and the Voice," "God's Speech and God's Silence," "God's Thunder and God's Peace," eminently worth reading, full of fresh, suggestive ideas expressed in terse, picturesque language; a collection of *Hymns from East and West*,<sup>3</sup> in which the author of *Hymns of the Early Church* gives translations, generally faithful and often felicitous, of some of the treasures of the poetry of the Latin and Greek Churches, arranged in the order of the Christian year; an exposition of Goethe's *Weltanschauung*,<sup>4</sup> by Rudolf Steiner, dealing in an able and effective way with Goethe's view of the system of things and its relations to other philosophies of the universe, both ancient and modern, especially the Platonic and the Hegelian; a "Manual for Would-be Christians," under the title of *Intent on Pleasing Thee*,<sup>5</sup> consisting of a series of brief, pointed, devout, practical meditations, well suited for edification, on such subjects as Religious Decision, the Means of Grace, Temptations, Business Life, &c.

In the March issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, we have among other things a good paper by Mr Budgett Meaken on *Moorish Places of Worship*, and a continuation of Mr Herbert B. Workman's very readable study of *St Anselm*; in the *Methodist Review* for March-April, Dr H. K. Carroll, of New York, gives a liberal reply to the question *Is Methodism Catholic?*; Dr A. H. Tuttle, of Newark, N.J., writes usefully on *The Teaching Element in Preaching*, and Dr R. J. Cooke, of Chattanooga, contributes an instructive paper on *The Ancient British and Ephesian Succession Theories*. The object of the last-named paper is to disprove the claim that "episcopal authority was derived by the Anglican bishops from the early British Church,"

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: G. A. Young & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. 586 and 178. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. J. T. Forbes, M.A., Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 206. Price, 2s 6d.

<sup>3</sup> By the Rev. John Brownlie. London: Nisbet & Co., 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Weimar: Felber; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 206.

<sup>5</sup> By A. R. Kelley. London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Pp. 160.

and the similar claim that "succession was also received from Eastern bishops back to St John at Ephesus." The argument is put briefly, and deals with facts which show that "from Rome, whether for weal or woe to the Anglican Church, the succession came to the sees of Lyons and Arles."

The monthly magazine entitled *The New Orthodoxy*, recently commenced under the editorship of the Rev. Robert Tuck, aims at furnishing thinkers and teachers with brief, pointed articles on the great Evangelical verities. One feature of it is a series of papers on the question, *What can I believe?* These are written by the editor, and the particular question considered in the March number is the Atonement. The point of the article is that theories of the Atonement hitherto constructed have proceeded too exclusively on the idea of God as *King* or as *Moral Governor*; that they have been founded, therefore, on a relation of God which is neither His only relation nor His highest relation; and that they must give place to another Doctrine of the Atonement as "that atonement which *a father requires* before he can restore to his home-place an erring, wilful child."

The tenth and eleventh numbers of the *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* contain, along with other matter useful to those interested in questions of Christian worship and art, two good papers by Professor F. Spitta, one on Zwingli's Hymn, and another on the Hymns of the Constance Reformers.

We have received the fourth and fifth numbers of a new magazine, *La Foi et la Vie*, issued under the superintendence of Benjamin Couve and Paul Doumergue. It describes itself as a *Revue de Quinzaine religieuse, morale, littéraire, sociale*. The fourth number has a short but interesting paper on Professor Blass. The fifth number opens with a paper by L. Maury on the *Question of Progress*, and the second part of an instructive article on *Art and Protestantism* by André Michel. It belongs to its plan also to give a series of Notes on the ideas of the day and on social questions, and these are done with point.

The most suggestive paper in the first quarterly issue of the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* for the current year is one by Dekan Hermann Fay on *Judas Iscariot*. It is a popular, psychological study of Judas, as the New Testament narrative presents him *before, in, and after* the Betrayal. Accepting the full historical credibility of the narrative, as against Volkmar, the writer analyses the character of the man with the view of discovering how he came to be the traitor and to continue with his Master with the treachery in his heart.

The *Theologische Rundschau*, under the care of Professor W. Bousset, of Göttingen, answers well the end its projectors had in



view. The fifth part, which is now before us, in addition to a short paper by M. Löhr on E. Meyer's *Die Entstehung des Judenthum*, gives a series of surveys of recent literature on the Hagiographa (Proverbs and Job), Church History, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology. These are done in a very informing way. Of special interest are the notices of the recent publications by Ecke and Winter on the Ritschlian theology.

In the March number of the *Homiletic Review* we notice a lively and characteristic paper on Charles H. Spurgeon, by Joseph Parker, D.D.; a short article by Professor Warfield on *Recent Reconstructions of Theology*, which looks at certain newer movements of theological thought in the light of the systematic theology of an earnest confessional Calvinism. There is also a varied selection of papers, expositions, representative sermons, and the like, in which preachers of all kinds should find something to help them.

*La Liberté Chretienne* is the title given to a new magazine published in Lausaune, under the editorship of Professors Jules Bovon, Philippe Bridel, and Lucien Gautier. It is to appear on the 1st and the 15th of each month, and costs but 8 francs a year. It promises well, being written in a lively style, and in an evangelical spirit. The opening number has interesting articles by Professor Bovon on *Sin and Redemption* (with reference to M. Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion*), Mr J. Wilson on the *Three Principal Branches of the Evangelical Church of Scotland* (a very good sketch in brief of the Established Church, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church), and Marie Dutoit on the Countess Schimmelmänn.

Students of the Greek New Testament will be interested in a pithy paper by Professor W. G. Ballantine on *Negative Futures in the Greek New Testament* in *The American Journal of Philology*, xviii. 4. The writer contests the prevailing idea that "the double negative οὐ μή, which is used with the aorist subjunctive, and more rarely with the future indicative in denials referring to the future, is an *emphatic* negative." His object is to show that "the facts of New Testament and Septuagint usage prove that οὐ μή was not regarded by Hellenistic writers as an *emphatic* negative, but that, on the contrary, the aorist subjunctive with οὐ μή was the more common way of expressing a negative future." Negative predictions are expressed in the New Testament in three ways, viz., by οὐ with the future indicative, by οὐ μή with the aorist subjunctive, and by οὐ μή with the future indicative. Looking to the best readings, the writer calculates that in eighty cases the New Testament follows the first of these three ways, in eighty the second, and in ten (according to Westcott and Hort's text) the third. He then points out that of ninety-three instances in which the Textus Receptus gave



οὐ μὴ only seventeen were rendered as emphatic by the Authorised Version; that even the Revisers deal with οὐ μὴ as emphatic only in twenty-two additional cases; and that thus, in the Revised Version, we have about fifty-three instances in which the formula is dealt with as non-emphatic, and thirty-eight in which it is credited with emphatic force. By a careful examination of passages (comparing, e.g., Matt. xiv. 31 and John xx. 25 with Heb. xiii. 5 and John iv. 48), he proceeds to establish the fact that "there is nothing to indicate that the line of division between the cases in which οὐ μὴ is translated emphatically in the Revised Version, and those in which it is not translated emphatically is other than an accidental one;" and, further, that it cannot be said that the passages in which οὐ with the future indicative is used are less emphatic than those in which οὐ μὴ with the aorist subjunctive occurs. He further supports his contention by arguments drawn from the Septuagint use, and by the fact that, in the New Testament, οὐ μὴ is not used in future prohibitions (except in one or two doubtful cases), whereas it is used in relative clauses and other connections in which emphasis is out of place, and other considerations. The editor, Professor Gildersleeve, appends a learned Note, in which he criticises the explanation of οὐ μὴ which Professor Jannaris gives in his recently published *Historical Greek Grammar*, viz., that οὐ μὴ is a corruption of οὐ μὴν, and that οὐ μὴν is a negative form of ἤ μὴν.

Among articles in this year's issue of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, which is ably conducted by Professor Gustav Holzhausen, of Munich, with the assistance of Dr Buchrucker, of Munich, Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, and other scholars, we may refer our readers to the conclusion of a very interesting sketch of *Duke Ernest the Wise, and his services to the Evangelical Church*, by Pastor Kunz (ix. 3); two elaborate studies of the Ritschlian Theology—one by Dr Maerker on the question, *Does Albert Ritschl teach an Eternal Life?* the other on the system considered as a *Teleology*, by Professor Schultze, of Berlin (ix. 2, 3); and a very suggestive paper by Oberconsistorialrath Buchrucker on *Theology and the Formation of Character* (ix. 3).

Among much solid and instructive matter in the January number of *Mind*, we may refer to a lively paper by Mr James H. Hyslop on *Kant's Doctrine of Time and Space*, touching on certain things in the *Critique* which, like others in the recently published *Losse Blätter aus Kant's Nachlass*, give evidence of the "development of Kant's philosophy and of fluctuating convictions on certain fundamental problems in it." Among papers of broader interest than the strictly ethical in the January number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, there is one by Dr Lester F. Ward, of

Washington, on the *Essential Nature of Religion*, in which, defining religion as "a substitute in the rational world for instinct in the subrational world," he would persuade us that he thereby provides a reconciliation between science and religion "more complete than any that have been hitherto propounded."

Professor S. I. Curtiss contributes in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January an article on the question, *Does a literal Interpretation of the Song of Songs remove its Character as Scripture?* He gives a very fair statement and criticism of the various interpretations which have been proposed, allegorical, typical, and literal. He examines the theory that the poem is not a drama but an idyl, as it is put by Professor Moulton, of Chicago, giving it as his opinion that the limitation of the characters to Solomon and Shulamith "does not explain the change of attitude which Shulamith expresses toward her admirer." Then, following generally the opinions of Ewald, Robertson Smith, and Stickel, as to the time and circumstances, he gives his own version of the story and its dramatic form, and concludes that Shulamith expresses a view of true affection in its permanence, power, and unmercenary nature. "When we reflect," he remarks at the close, "upon the crimes and sorrows with which men and women have been visited because of the perversion of love, it certainly does not seem strange that there should be one book in the Old Testament which shows its true nature, teaching that all the real peace and happiness of those who submit to it is dependent upon mutual and worthy affection."

The fifth volume of the valuable series of *Texts and Studies*, edited by Professor J. Armitage Robinson, of Cambridge, consists of three parts. The first gives the second collection of *Anecdota Apocrypha*,<sup>1</sup> which we owe to Dr M. R. James. It contains some curious literature—a Fragment of the Acts of John, the Acts of Thomas, the Epistles of Pilate and Herod, the Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate, the Apocalypse of Baruch (in Greek), and the Testament of Job. Strange and sometimes grotesque as these writings are, they deserve the attention of Biblical students for the light which they give us on old ideas. Dr James should have our thanks for the pains which he has spent on them. Only a specialist could follow him into the various questions which he has to consider. Any eye, however, can see that his work is admirably done, and that it has the note of modesty which marks the true scholar. He has not only given the texts with his well-known care, but has grappled with the literary problems and with the difficulties of interpretation in ample Introductions and in Additional Notes. The documents are of very mixed value. Some of them are of import-

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdota Apocrypha*. II. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. cii. 174. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

ance, especially the Acts of John and the new Apocalypse of Baruch. Most of them contain a great deal that startles and is hard to understand. Under Dr James's guidance we shall make the most that can be made of them at present. There is, we should add, an important note on "Leucius and the Gospel of John," in which Dr P. Corssen's contention that Leucius, the author of the "Acts," did not know the Fourth Gospel, is subjected to a very convincing criticism. Dr James examines the question in the light of the contents of the Fragment, and concludes again in favour of the view of Lipsius and Zahn that Leucius used the Fourth Gospel. The second part of the same volume contains a scholarly edition of the *Quis Dives Salvetur*<sup>1</sup> of Clement of Alexandria, which interesting writing has been known hitherto only in an inaccurate form. The text is now given for the first time as it is found in an Escorial MS. of the eleventh century, five centuries older than the Vatican MS., on which former editions have been based. The third part contains *The Hymn of the Soul*,<sup>2</sup> which is ably edited by Professor Bevan, of Cambridge. This interesting poem is introduced into the "Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle" in a collection of Lives of Saints, the manuscript of which is in the British Museum, and dates A.D. 936. How it came to be there we do not know. But Professor Bevan thinks the probability is that it was taken from some extraneous source and inserted into the Acts; but when or how we know not. Dr Nöldeke describes it as "an ancient Gnostic hymn relating to the soul, which is sent from its heavenly home to the earth, and there forgets both its origin and its mission until it is aroused by a revelation from on high; thereupon it performs the task assigned to it and returns to the upper regions, where it is reunited to the heavenly robe, its ideal counterpart, and enters the presence of the highest celestial Powers." Professor Bevan accepts that description, and proceeds to consider the further questions as to the precise form of Gnosticism that is represented in it, its date and its authorship. His conclusions are that it is not of the Manichean type, but apparently of the Bardesanic, and that it was probably composed before the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty in A.D. 224. The peculiar value of the Hymn lies in the light which it casts on the Gnostic doctrine. For it shows us Gnosticism "not as it appeared to its enemies, not as a tissue of fantastic speculations, but as it was in reality, at least to some of its adherents, a new religion." First published by Dr William Wright in 1871 in his *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, it has appeared also in the Syrian

<sup>1</sup> By P. M. Barnard, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxx. 66. Price, 3s net.

<sup>2</sup> By Professor A. A. Bevan. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 2s net.

text in the third volume of the *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (Paris, 1892), and in two German translations, by Macke (1874) and Lipsius (1883). There was room, however, for a new edition and translation (Dr Wright's being out of print), and Professor Bevan has supplied the want. In doing so he has brought all up to date and has shown us that the verses, which run mostly in six syllables each, as was pointed out by Nöldeke, are also arranged in couplets.

We have also to notice a *Commentary on the Epistle of Jude*<sup>1</sup> by Dr George Wandel, written with a view to practical as well as scientific interests, going with care into questions of text and literary criticism, giving the relevant passages from the *Book of Enoch* and the *Assumption of Moses* in full, and furnishing a good translation—on the whole a sensible and useful addition to our expositions of this Epistle; another volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*,<sup>2</sup> containing a mass of expository, homiletic, and illustrative matter applicable to the Epistles of John and Jude; a tenth and substantially new issue of the late Dr F. W. Weber's *Kurzgefasste Einleitung in die Heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*<sup>3</sup>—a very useful introduction, written from the scholarly-conservative point of view, now carefully worked over by the editors, M. and J. Deinzer, of Neuendettelsau; a second and revised edition of Professor Friedrich Baethgen's *Psalms*,<sup>4</sup> one of the volumes of Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, the merits of which, especially in text-criticism and in grammatical exegesis, have been already recognised<sup>5</sup> in this Journal; a volume of wise and weighty thoughts on *Christian Aspects of Life*,<sup>6</sup> in which the Bishop of Durham gives some of the results of his life-long consideration of such subjects as the National Church, Foreign Missions, Education, Social Service, and Social Relationships, and once more sets before us the noble ambition of making our Christian faith "the direct rule of our whole life—of our social and civic and national life, no less than of our personal life."

The *Expositor* has completed the sixth volume of its fifth series.<sup>7</sup> It holds as high a rank as ever among our many monthlies, and

<sup>1</sup> Der Brief des Judas, exegetisch praktisch behandelt. Leipsic: Deichert, 1898. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, M.1.40.

<sup>2</sup> London: Nisbet. 8vo, pp. 472, 25, 29, 95. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> München: Beck, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 414.

<sup>4</sup> Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. xli. 486. Price, M.8.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iii., p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 428. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 471. Price, 7s. 6d.

continues to provide from year to year a rich variety of articles by our most competent writers on subjects of more immediate interest to Biblical students. Among other papers in this volume which are both able and timely are those by Professor Harnack, the Rev. John A. Cross, and Professor Armitage Robinson on the *Logia*, by the Rev. J. B. Mayor on the Authenticity of the the Epistle of St James (a searching examination of the theories of Harnack and Spitta), and by Professor W. M. Ramsay on various Pauline and Lukan questions.

Professor Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, has put into the hands of the public the first instalment of the large and important undertaking called *The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments*, or more popularly *The Polychrome Bible*, which has been in preparation for a length of time. He has had the assistance of Horace Howard Furness in the editorial work, and the effective services of a band of well-known scholars of different nationalities in the preparation of the several volumes. He is to be congratulated on these first issues, which consist of *Judges*, by Professor Moore; *Isaiah*, by Professor Cheyne; and *Psalms*, by Professor Wellhausen. The object of the series is to give a new translation of each book direct from the original and on the basis of the best critical texts, to indicate by the use of different colours the composite nature of the books, and to supply in the shape of notes what further is required for the interpretation of the writings. The seventh part, that on *Judges*,<sup>1</sup> is now before us. It has been committed to a scholar than whom no better could have been found for the purpose. Professor G. F. Moore, of Andover, stands in the front rank of Old Testament students. In his book on *Judges* in the *International Commentary* he has produced one of the masterpieces of recent critical Hebrew scholarship, and in this new publication we discover again all the good qualities which have given distinction to the former work. His English rendering is readable, though it looks to faithfulness first and to style only in the second place. His Notes are pointed and helpful; his criticism is free and thorough-going, without becoming either precipitate or showy.

Mr Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*<sup>2</sup> has had a reception such as is seldom given to books of its kind. It has gone into its nineteenth thousand, and has been both appreciated and criticised as few books are. The feature of this new issue is an Appendix containing a reply to criticisms. In this paper, which is a revision and extension of an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Judges. A New English Translation, with explanatory notes and pictorial illustrations. London: James Clarke & Co., 1898. Pp. xii. 97. Price, 6s. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. iii. 385. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Kidd reaffirms the fundamental idea of his book, states again the proposition in the light of which he analyses the processes of our Western civilisation, and explains why he feels that the time has not yet come for any detailed reply. His appeal is to the future—to “the rising generation of workers, to those whose mission it will be to assimilate in the spirit of scientific continuity the vast store of new knowledge.” We could have wished the author to go further. For the scope of his book presents itself very differently to different minds, and there are things in it, vital to its argument, which require more exact definition. Until that is done the book will probably continue to be regarded by some as an argument of solid and lasting value, by others as a brilliant paradox. Its literary qualities, its vigour of thought, its suggestiveness, and the integrity of its motive were acknowledged on its first appearance.<sup>1</sup>

The second volume of *Ritschl's Life*<sup>2</sup> brings the story down from 1864 to 1889, and completes the biography. It deals with Ritschl's first years in Göttingen, and with the various events in his domestic and professional life for the last twenty-five years of his career. This is all well told. Of special interest is the picture which is given of the last three years and his decease. The chief value of the volume, however, lies in what it says of his literary work, in particular of his *Geschichte des Pietismus*, and still more in the account which it presents of his theology, the rise of a Ritschlian School, and the assaults made upon his system. The most important section of the book undoubtedly is the fifteenth chapter, in which we get a summary of Ritschl's aims and methods, his conception of Biblical Theology and of Dogmatics, the chief points in his representation of Primitive Christianity, and his main dogmatic positions. The exposition of his doctrines of God, Sin, Christ, and Christian Sonship, is particularly clear and helpful. Had there been nothing else than this synopsis of his Theology in the volume, we should have been under great obligations to the biographer. But the book is good throughout. No one who will understand Ritschl's Theology can dispense with this faithful and ably executed biography of the theologian himself.

The *New Order of Nobility*,<sup>3</sup> by Fred. A. Rees, is an interesting, pleasantly written little volume, dealing with the only true patent of nobility, viz., character and conduct. We find the keynote of the whole in the following words of the author: “Pomp is not power,

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. iv., p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Ritschl's Leben. Dargestellt von Otto Ritschl. Zweiter Band. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Morgate. 8vo, pp. 544. Price, M.12.

<sup>3</sup> London: A. H. Stockwell & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 125. Price, 2s.



a name is not nobility, wealth is not worth—love is more than genius and morality than possession.”

The book is divided into five parts, each setting forth some particular guarantee of this ‘newer and truer rank, which is to be determined by Honour, not by Heritage ; by Merit, not by Mercy ; by Worth, not by Wealth ; by Virtue, not by Valour ; by Piety, not by Poverty. Each section is introduced by, and interspersed with, numerous apt quotations, so numerous, in fact, as at times to drown the original portions of the work, but so apt as to justify by their very appropriateness their superabundance.

The whole book, in short, is a most useful and popular treatment of a subject which, however old it may be in theory, is ever new in practice.

Professor Lucien Gautier, of Lausanne, has already made himself known to the public as a writer upon the Holy Land in his tasteful little volume entitled *Au delà du Jourdain*. Now we have before us a similar though somewhat larger work from his pen, the title of which reveals its subject-matter. *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*<sup>1</sup> is a collection of articles descriptive of various journeys made by the author in the Holy Land, which appeared in fragmentary form in magazines and reviews before being gathered together in one volume. M. Gautier seems to think he owes us something of an apology for bringing into a world of literature already overstocked with works upon the Holy Land, another book of the same kind. This apology he bases upon the importunity of his friends, and upon the fact that he writes in French for Frenchmen, among whom such works, though so numerous in England, are comparatively scarce. None, however, who have read the book, will regard any apology as necessary. It is no attempt at an elaborate historical or geographical treatise upon Palestine, but is simply a series of bright descriptive sketches, written in a fresh, vivid, racy style, which cannot fail to interest all readers. In 1894 M. Gautier and his family spent four months in Jerusalem, from which, as their headquarters, they made various excursions into the surrounding country, which they have commemorated in these articles. Amongst them we have descriptions of a journey to Hebron, of wanderings among the Philistines, of Samaria, Mount Carmel, the Highlands of Galilee, &c. From such an interesting series it is difficult to select any particular article as more worthy of notice than the rest. Yet, if we may venture to make a distinction, we think that the most highly interesting parts of the book are those dealing with the country of the Philistines and with Tyre and Sidon. Many of the excursions made by M. Gautier at this time penetrated into country not in the

<sup>1</sup> Lausanne : Bridel et Cie, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 337. Price .F.5.



usual track of the ordinary tourist, a fact which renders his work of more value. The general interest and attractiveness of the volume is greatly enhanced by a series of fifty-nine beautiful plates from the photographs taken by his wife. The whole is got up in the tasteful style, and the clear type, already familiar to us in *Au delà du Jourdain*, which also have their influence in making the whole a most attractive and readable book.

In *The Light of Shakespeare*<sup>1</sup> Miss Clare Langton does not attempt to add to the long series of critiques upon the genius of the immortal dramatist, but simply offers to the public a collection of quotations from his works, illustrative of the religious feeling and faith of their author. "There is one point," she says, in her delightful introduction to the book, "which, though recognised by many of his ablest critics, has not, in a general way, been brought into sufficient prominence, and that is the depth and reality of his religion, nor is the fact insisted upon that his higher teaching is at once the most conspicuous and most precious inheritance bequeathed to posterity." This is a want, regarded by many as a serious one, which Miss Langton now supplies by a most judicious selection of those sublime passages from Shakespeare, which are permeated by the highest moral feeling and the deepest faith and reverence. These selections are divided suitably into different sections, according to the subject with which they deal. They are grouped under such titles as the Godhead, Conscience, Mercy, Guilt, Repentance, Sin, &c., so that any passage can be readily found without unnecessary trouble. This little book will be a valuable possession to all students of Shakespeare, and its introduction alone, apart from anything else, should gain for it a place in every Shakespearian library.

*Voices of the Day*,<sup>2</sup> by C. S. Wardle, is a prettily written and elegantly got up little book, which aims at conveying to the minds of men absorbed in earthly cares, the divine message contained in all nature. God's voice is to be heard through all His works, "in the wind sighing among the trees, in the silent movements of the white clouds, in the blue depths of the summer sky." Therefore, just as we study the Bible for God's message, let us study nature—"the splash and murmur of the streams, the winsome beauty of the flowers, the hum of the insects, and the songs of the birds"—for the divine Voice and Revelation. Such is the aim of the book, an aim which has been carried out and developed in an interesting and successful manner.

<sup>1</sup> Passages illustrative of the Higher Teaching of Shakespeare's Dramas. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 116. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Voices of the Day*; or, "Thoughts on the Message of God in Nature," by C. S. Wardle. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 3s. 6d.

*Village Life in Palestine*,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. G. Robinson Lees, B.A., F.R.G.S., is another interesting little volume about the Holy Land. It deals mainly with the life of the peasantry of the country, and it presents us with many good descriptions of the ways and manners and life of the people, which we do not find in the ordinary book of travel. It gives a considerable amount of information about the religion, life, manners, customs, social characteristics, and superstitions of the peasants of the Holy Land, with reference to the Bible, and is the "result of study and observation during a residence of six years in the country, combined with a knowledge of the language of the people." It seems to be a book that one can trust as regards the accuracy of the information it contains. It is intended as a handy volume for the use of Sunday School and Bible Class teachers, and is enriched by twenty-six illustrations from the negatives of the author, which increase its value and interest.

From Professor H. Sidgwick, under the title of *Practical Ethics*,<sup>2</sup> comes another volume of the *Ethical Library* which Professor J. H. Muirhead is editing. This addition consists of a series of essays delivered before various ethical societies lately founded in London and Cambridge. These societies, it must be remembered, are not gatherings of professed philosophers, nor are they limited to any special school of thought. Their object is the wider one of attracting men of all schools and all lines of life who are interested in such questions, to discuss with one another in a thoroughly practical way common questions of conduct that present themselves to all thoughtful men. The first two lectures are devoted to considering the scope of such societies, and the others may be taken as models of what their discussions should be, as regards both subject and treatment. Most have already been published in the *International Journal of Ethics*. The titles sufficiently indicate the questions at issue. After the two introductory chapters come essays on Public Morality, the Morality of Strife, the Ethics of Religious Conformity, Clerical Veracity, Luxury, the Pursuit of Culture, Unreasonable Action. All these are at once seen to be very debatable topics, and Professor Sidgwick deals with them all in an eminently broad-minded and

<sup>1</sup> *Village Life in Palestine*. A description of the religion, home-life, manners, customs, social characteristics, and superstitions of the peasants of the Holy Land, with reference to the Bible. By the Rev. G. Robinson Lees, B.A., F.R.G.S., author of "Jerusalem Illustrated," "Jerusalem and its People," and joint-author of "Palestine," in Dr Lunn's Guide Book, "How to visit the Mediterranean," &c. With twenty-six illustrations from photographs by the author. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> *Practical Ethics*. By Henry Sidgwick, Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 4s. 6d.

common-sense way, and in a manner well calculated to stimulate thought, and sometimes criticism, in his readers. That on the Ethics of Religious Conformity evoked considerable discussion on its first publication, and the essay on Clerical Veracity is Professor Sidgwick's rejoinder to his chief critic, the Rev. H. Rasdall. Whatever view one takes of this question, it is good for the recognised leaders of religious thought to see how it presents itself to the mind of an able layman, who, from his position, must exercise a wide influence over the cultured youth of our country. It cannot be maintained that Professor Sidgwick errs on the side of extreme strictness; he would allow great latitude in interpretation, but thinks that the line must be drawn somewhere, and that is at the beginning of direct and conscious deception. This is an age of intellectual activity and interest, and, should the laity come to think that their religious teachers are repeatedly professing and inculcating doctrines, held to be fundamental to Christianity, which they have themselves thrown over, the result would be disastrous to religion and morality. The power of sincerity in a teacher is enormous, and the Churches will get much nearer their cherished goal by taking the laity into their confidence, and speaking frankly to them only what they fully believe. No thoughtful man will rise from a perusal of this sane little book without getting much food for reflection, and much help in solving many of the everyday ethical problems that all have to face in one form or another.

The first appearance of Professor James Seth's *Study of Ethical Principles*<sup>1</sup> was very favourably reviewed in these pages three years ago, and the fact that a third edition is called for so soon proves that that approval has been widely endorsed. This edition has been thoroughly revised and enlarged. Two new chapters are introduced which will considerably enhance the value of the work as a text-book. The first of these is on the method of Ethics, and the author tries to limit its scope and free it from the admixture of various other inquiries quite separate from it, but often confused with it. Ethics is a science, and its method is absolutely and truly scientific, not metaphysical. It differs from other sciences only in its content. "The common task of all science is the rationalisation of our judgments through their organisation into a system of thought." But these judgments may be either judgments of fact or judgments of worth. The natural or descriptive sciences deal with the former, while the normative or appreciative sciences, like ethics, logic, and aesthetics, have to do with the latter. The natural history of morality is a very useful, even essential, study, but it is strictly only the handmaid of

<sup>1</sup> A Study of Ethical Principles. By James Seth, M.A., Sage Professor of Moral Philosophy in Cornell University. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Price, 7s. 6d.

ethics as a normative science. The confusion of these two separate inquiries is seen not only in the psychological theories of Hume and Mill, but also in the later evolutionary theory, which explains the relation of the fact to other facts, but not the ethical value of the fact. The sphere of metaphysics, on the other hand, lies away behind all the sciences as their true foundation. It has to examine the ultimate validity of all our judgments, which validity must be assumed by the separate sciences for their very existence. The normative sciences, however, since their function is to judge the value of the actual in terms of the ideal, are thus brought into closer relationship with metaphysics than are the natural sciences. But all science ultimately merges in metaphysics, and especially in ethical inquiry is the metaphysical question forced upon us, and hence the author devotes Part III. of his book to the metaphysical implications of morality. The second new chapter is on "Moral Progress," and is a very able attempt to show that the law of moral progress is "the progressive discovery of the individual"; not the individual as an isolated unit, but the individual in his whole social setting. The growth and development of the idea of the value and position of the individual is traced in a masterly fashion in a rapid historical survey, and the effect of this in deepening and widening man's view of morality is thoughtfully presented. Although at present the stress of the existing industrial system is somewhat obscuring the individual's true place in society, the author thinks there are already signs of a still truer and fuller recognition of the personal worth of man. The whole book is conspicuously able, the style is fluent and lucid and elevated, and a student of ethics could read no more suggestive and helpful manual. An index has been added, and a very useful sketch of the literature of the subject has been appended to each chapter.

*Practical Idealism*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a small volume by Mr William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. Its origin was a course of lectures delivered at various summer schools in America, and it is an attempt "to interpret the spiritual significance of everyday life." It is not a treatise on metaphysics or ethics, but it ranges pleasantly over a wide field, with many a quotation and reference to philosophical writers. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the Natural World, under the headings—the World of Sense-Perception, the World of Association, the World of Science, the World of Art; the second part is devoted to the Spiritual World, and contains other four chapters, entitled the World of Persons, the World of Institutions, the World of

<sup>1</sup> *Practical Idealism*. By William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Cr. 8vo. Price, 5s.

Morality, the World of Religion. It is impossible to criticise such a medley, but its practical tone and happy way of putting things may, as the author hopes, stimulate young readers to undertake a more extended and strenuous journey along the same roads.

To a "Society of ministers accustomed to meet for free and brotherly conference" we are indebted for a volume which deserves more notice than can be given it here and now. Its title, *The Ancient Faith in Modern Light*,<sup>1</sup> indicates so far its purpose, which is to restate and reaffirm certain fundamental doctrines of Christianity in accordance with modern ways of thinking. It consists of a series of Essays, in which old questions are reconsidered, and the attempt is made to distinguish in each between the permanent and the transient, between what is of the special time and circumstance and what is of the certainties of truth itself. The writers include Principals Tymms, Cave, and Vaughan Pryce, Professor Medley, Mr Brock, Drs S. G. Green, Joseph Parker, Guinness Rogers, and the late Principal Henry Robert Reynolds—*clarum et venerabile nomen*. These are all men worth listening to, and some of them can command an audience anywhere. The opening paper, which is by the Head of Rawdon College, deals at some length and with much insight with the question of "Christian Theism," comparing it with Hebrew Theism and other Theistic systems. The discussion of the ethical problems involved in Christian Theism is perhaps the best part of this able essay. Dr Parker provides a racy paper on the "New Citizenship," in which he says many incisive and suggestive things on the ideas of Church, State, and Nation. Dr Rogers delivers his message, a strong and ringing message, on the "Pulpit and the Press," one object of which is to show how far preaching is from being a spent force. Dr Newth states in clear and definite terms the "New Testament Witness concerning Christian Churches." Mr Brock writes wisely and sympathetically of "Christianity and the Child." Professor Medley says some good things about the "Permanent significance of the Bible," and the paper by the late Dr Reynolds on the "Witness of the Spirit" is of such merit and interest that one regrets it is but a fragment. In addition to these we get three distinctively doctrinal papers. One of them is on the "Bible View of Sin"—an instructive discussion, in which Principal Cave takes us over a wide and difficult field, handling with special ability the whole range of questions connected with the teaching of Scripture on the Adamic and generic consequences of sin. Dr Green writes of the "Deity and Humanity of Christ," giving a careful summary of the facts which establish our Lord's Divinity, and exhibiting the principles of the Incarnation. Dr Green's examination of the

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 416. Price, 10s. 6d.  
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Kenotic theories and of Dorner's doctrine of a progressive incarnation, though necessarily brief, well repays consideration. Principal Vaughan Pryce has a great and difficult subject to grapple with in "The Redemptive Work of the Lord Jesus Christ." He brings into one view various indications which are given in the New Testament, and especially in Christ's own words, of the meaning and purpose of His work. He examines the various terms, *sacrifice*, *propitiation*, *reconciliation*, and others which throw light on the *method* of salvation and the *efficacy* which is attributed to our Lord's death. At times this essay errs, in our opinion, in reducing some of the Scripture terms to less than they really mean, and in making certain doctrinal statements of the value of Christ's work, especially the idea of its substitutionary character, stand or fall with extreme forms of these statements. But the paper will be read with profit, both for its own view of the teaching of Scripture and for its criticism of theories. The volume contains much strong and independent thinking, and is written in the spirit of honest, reverent inquiry.

*A Life of Philip Schaff*<sup>1</sup> will be a welcome book to many. It has been expected for some years. It is now in our hands, and it is all the more acceptable that it is in part autobiographical. It is the work of Professor David S. Schaff, of Lane Theological Seminary, and it is well done. It is a thoroughly readable book, and gives us a very good picture of a man who was known to none without having their respect and affection. Philip Schaff's journeys were many, and wherever he came, he made friends. As the years went on, the circle of his acquaintanceships and intimacies became wider and wider. It embraced multitudes of the best known men in England, in America, and on the Continent, and not only theologians and ecclesiastics, but men of all kinds and positions. One great charm of the book, therefore, are the glimpses it gives us of Dr Schaff's intercourse with European and American celebrities, and his estimates of them. His labours were enormous. The multitude and magnitude of his literary undertakings stagger one when they come under his view here, and much of his literary work is of excellent quality. We owe him a great deal for his *History of the Church* and his monumental collection of the *Creeds of Christendom*, to speak of only two out of many large and important contributions made by his capable and never-resting pen to theological literature. Nor were his energies exhausted by these things. He took upon himself the burden of great public movements, such as the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, and others, and he did

<sup>1</sup> New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 526. Price, 10s. 6d.



noble service in each. He was a man, too, of the widest sympathies and the largest charity, ever quick to recognise all that was good and true in beliefs and organisations different from those by which he himself held. To read the story of the life of such a man is to be refreshed and stimulated. The son deserves our cordial thanks for the memorial which he has given us of his eminent and honoured father.

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## **Divine Immanence ; an Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter.**

*By J. R. Illingworth, M.A., author of "Personality, Human and Divine." London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 212. Price, 7s. 6d.*

MR ILLINGWORTH has rapidly taken a foremost place among those writers of the day who deal with questions lying on the borderland of science, philosophy and theology. His work on *Personality* deals with the crucial question of philosophy and theology, and it could not have been written until that great problem had come to the front, as it has come under the great stimulus of the Kantian, and specially of the Hegelian, philosophy. It is a striking circumstance to note how the question of personality presses itself on all the philosophies of the present hour, and to note how the traditional psychology deals with it. Formerly the unity of the subject was lost, or, at all events, it was only the formal bond which somehow held the faculties together. Consciousness was looked at as a product, which came to appearance when the organism attained to a certain growth. It is one of the merits of Green that he was able to destroy this supposition, and to show that the unity of the subject was the presupposition of experience, and reference to a self-conscious subject the condition of knowledge. This made an end of many speculations, but the traditional psychologists are still unconvinced, though they are now compelled, as never before, to face the problem. Like M. Ribot, who is a typical writer of the school he represents, they essay "to reduce conscious personality to its immediate conditions—the organism." Now it is one of the services of Mr Illingworth that he has dealt seriously and effectively with this class of writers, and has reached a number of readers who are not likely to read the works of Green and others who have written on this question.

The book before us may be described as the sequel to the work on *Personality*. Generally it is a discussion on the relation of nature to religion. The opening chapter has the title, "matter and spirit." The distinction dates from the old distinction of "body and soul" of primitive philosophy, and this latter distinction is as old as human reflection. This is first set forth, and the author proceeds to look at the nature and relation of spirit and matter. The main conclusions to which he comes are these. However

different they may be, they are known only in combination, and so neither can be completely known. They, however, represent very distinct and easily distinguishable phases of experience. Spirit is what thinks, and wills, and loves ; matter is what moves in space. "Other things are determined from without : they are what external forces make them : they do not choose what they will be. But spirit chooses its own end, elects what it will become, and thereby asserts its existence, as having a value in itself." Matter, he contends, is of use to spirit, but spirit is of no use to matter. As to the first part of the saying, it is obvious that the human spirit does depend on matter ; that without oxygen and nitrogen, and phosphorus and carbon, we could neither think nor will nor love. But the other part of the statement, that spirit is of no use to matter, is not so obvious. It seems to conflict with his main thesis, which is, that nature has a direct influence on religion. No doubt there is a limited sense in which his statement is true. Nature does go along by herself, and man does not change the character of the forces he presses into his service. But if, as he contends in a later statement, "nature exists for the sake of spirit," it can be true only in a very partial sense that spirit is of no use to matter. But we need not dwell on this point. As he admits that there is a teleological relation between the two, and that spirit is the final cause of matter, he has caught the essential fact in the case. The mention of teleology leads him to explain that Bacon's objection, so often misapplied, deals only with the misuse of final causes, and also to examine and refute the more drastic objection of Spinoza.

The religious influence of the material world is the theme of the second chapter, and it is dealt with in a happy way. The material world has had a religious influence on man, and the proof of it lies embodied in the literature of the world. A number of selections, happily chosen from varied sources in ancient and modern times, gives ample illustration of the religious influence of the external world. From Egypt, India, Persia and Palestine, from Greece and Rome, from the Christian fathers and medieval writers, from the renaissance, later theologians and modern poets, his illustrations are drawn, and the chapter is as delightful from a literary point of view as it is from the point of view of his main argument.

The Divine Immanence in Nature is the next theme, and it is set forth with felicity. However we may interpret the religious influence of external nature, it is a great fact. If it is not an illusion, and if the faculties which feel it are not untrustworthy, it must have a great meaning. This gives rise to the question, What is reality ? Reality is shown not to consist in existence in space, but in relation to personality. From this it follows that the

sensible is as real as the scientific aspect of the world, and feeling is as trustworthy as reason, for both feeling and reason are elements in the same personal experience. It cannot be doubted that we are receptive of the religious influence of nature, and the inference is that there is a spiritual presence in nature. The analogy of our own personality helps us to understand the relation of the spirit in nature to nature itself. As human personality combines transcendence of matter and immanence in matter, so the analogy excludes the mere immanence of pantheism, the mere transcendence of deism, and the mere identity of monism. Such is a brief and bald outline of the argument of this chapter, an argument which will repay close and sustained study. Divine immanence in man is the next topic. He summarises the evidence given in conscience and in inspiration, and shows that the evidence points to the Incarnation as its climax. He is mindful of the argument of the anthropologists, who explain away the Incarnation because, they say, there is a tendency to believe in incarnations. "Folklore and mythology find endless traces of supposed incarnations which are quite as unspiritual, and even immoral, as they are unscientific; and conflict not only with all canons of rational criticism, but even with the ordinary dictates of plain common sense. Yet these fictions only emphasise the persistence of the instinct which continued to invent them, because it continued to demand them. And when at length we are confronted with a tale of Incarnation, whose spiritual sublimity and actual influence are absolutely unique, its believers may fairly recognise in the previous expectation of mankind an additional proof of its truth. The event has occurred, they may reasonably say, which man's prophetic soul divined. The Incarnation which he so often fantastically dreamed of has at last become a fact." To the objection that the Incarnation is improbable, is miraculous, and therefore improbable, he answers that it is an unique event, and therefore not miraculous in the sense of the objection. The primary evidence for the Incarnation is spiritual, for it is the manifestation of a Person. "We cannot separate the wonderful life from the wonderful teaching, from the wonderful works. They involve, and interpenetrate, and presuppose each other, and form in their indissoluble combination one harmonious picture." It is also to be borne in mind that the Incarnation is redemptive, and this thought must have its effect on our estimate of the wonderful works done by the Incarnate One.

The next chapter deals more fully with the question of "The Incarnation and Miracles." We have not space to summarise the argument, and, indeed, the argument is so closely woven that it is scarcely possible to shorten it without doing it injustice. He points out that the objection to miracles is based on the supposed

uniformity of nature, and that now we think more of the unity than of the uniformity of nature. Unity is a spiritual conception, "The world is not a chaotic flux, as it would be if merely material, but an orderly system of things. Atoms combine in mathematical proportion; stars move in their courses by mechanical rule; organic life in plant and animal is mainly elaborately teleological; man is guided and developed by a moral law. And the result is a coherent universe, whose elements are intimately bound together by the mutual ministrations of all to each and each to all. But all these links are obviously spiritual, and analogous to what we find within ourselves, and thus the unity of nature must be due to a spiritual power. The phrase, indeed, has no other meaning; for we cannot conceive a mere material unity, since spirit is the only unifying agent that we know. Thus the more science impresses upon us the unity of nature, the more does it, by implication, assert that nature is rooted and grounded in spirit. Now spirit, as we have repeatedly seen, affirms the absolute supremacy of its own ends. It claims as of right to govern, and never to subserve matter; to use matter for spiritual purposes, and never the reverse. And whenever the reverse takes place, and we see spiritual beings using their powers in pursuit of animal, and therefore material ends, we recognise at once that they are contradicting the very essence of their nature, and are therefore unrighteous or wrong." It is also pointed out that miracle is to be expected in connection with the redemptive work of the Incarnate One, and that the gradual cessation of miracles was as needful as their occurrence.

Two chapters follow on the Incarnation and Sacraments, and on the Incarnation and the Trinity. The first is rather mystic, and not satisfactory; the second is altogether admirable. We regret much that the author has, in our judgment, spoilt a great book and a great argument by tying it to a view of the sacraments, which would justify any amount of ritual. But on this question we do not dwell. The chapter on the Trinity is good, and dwells largely on the fact that as the purport of the Incarnation was the revelation of God as love, this was impossible, if there were not the previous fact that God is love. Love implies more than one; it implies a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, between whom love exists. This conception, by no means a new one, is finely worked out, and its theoretical and practical consequences set forth with great lucidity. An appendix deals with the questions of Personal Identity and Freewill, and in connection with the discussion he has gathered together the most significant passages of modern philosophers, who deal with these great questions. Looking at the book as a whole, and taking it, as we are bound to do, in connection with the former book on Personality, we are glad to

welcome it as one of the most noteworthy contributions to philosophical theology made by our time. It is also a magnificent contribution to Apologetics.

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact.**

*The Congregational Union Lecture for 1897 ; by John Brown, B.A., D.D., Minister of Bunyan Chapel, Bedford. London : Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 463. Price, 10s 6d.*

THERE are not a few who will say, "Is it worth while at this time of day to write a book on Apostolical Succession? And what man, if he writes such a book, can show us anything new?" But Dr Brown knows that, though the theory may be ridiculed by everybody in this country outside the Roman and Anglican Churches, and probably by the bulk of laymen (we speak not of women) inside the Anglican Church, and though many of those who consciously hold the theory may be, from lack of mind or of the historical mind, scarcely amenable to argument, it is nevertheless still worth while to expose the hollowness of its pretensions, first, because they are false; secondly, because they are antichristian; thirdly, because they are divisive; fourthly, because they are recrudescant, particularly among those who talk most about reunion; and, lastly, because, even with those who do not consciously admit them, they are, at bottom, still responsible for much of the unbrotherly habit of English Christianity. Nor is it correct to suggest that there is nothing new to tell. If Dr Brown needs further justification he finds it in the fact that recent discoveries in early Christian literature have contributed fresh and important points of vantage for the attack.

Taking the book as a whole, we feel it is sound, strong, and apt for its purpose. Its deficiencies are minor and do not affect the main thesis. It has one signal excellence: its style is simple, clear, and direct; there is no straining after epigram; no metallic resonance is perpetually trying the ear. Yet there is no lack of force, point or variety; and amid its lucid, readable and accurate English there is only a word here and there (such as the word *reliable*) which a purist itches to alter, and perhaps a sentence or two which might be better for re-writing; take, for example, the sentence that reads, "*Ordo*, the origin of the word *orders*, is not found in the New Testament" (p. 53).

The author pursues his subject historically. After justifying his work on the ground that the investigation of Church organisation



is pre-eminently a task for the present day, a day of increased historical material, of unprecedented historical sense and method, and of proposals for reunion, futile because hatched in an atmosphere of unhistorical presuppositions, he proceeds to dwell upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession from the side of its grave uncertainties and its yet graver practical injuriousness. Then, by the help of the discussions and discoveries of the present century, he carefully and judicially discriminates the earliest forms of church life, the functions that were universal, divinely conferred, charismatic—those of the apostle, the prophet, the teacher,—and the offices that were local, elective, administrative—those filled by the presbyters, otherwise called bishops and deacons. At the next step he reaches the letters of Ignatius, and, leaving undecided, after discussion, the questions of genuineness and interpolation, he forcibly argues that, even if all the letters be genuine, the language whereby (if taken literally) Ignatius would (for the sake of local unity) invest the episcopal office with a “crushing despotism” (in Lightfoot’s phrase) “subversive of the true spirit of Christianity,” is more than counter-balanced, for the purpose of the present argument, by the fact that, in spite of the stress he lays upon the episcopal claims, he never adduces apostolic support or speaks of apostolical succession; that the letters reveal the absence of the monarchical bishop in some of the churches addressed; that each bishop was obviously congregational or, at most, the presiding pastor of the local community; and that, as Lightfoot wrote, “there is not throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry.” Dr Brown then traces, during the second century, the transition from the charismatic prophet-preacher to the administrative and teaching pastor, and the process by which there came thus to be one presiding bishop in each church. He sides with Loening, Kühl, and Foucart against the narrowness of Hatch’s view that this development turned mainly on financial considerations, and deems inadequate Professor Ramsay’s solution that it arose chiefly from the recognised duty of intercommunication among the churches; preferring to attribute the change to the demands of the inner church life and the growing need of an abiding local preaching ministry in proportion as the charismatic gifts of the itinerant prophet ceased. Hence, he believes, the functions of prophet and presbyter came to be united in the hands of the single local *episcopus*. Next follows an exposition of the way in which hierarchical developments in the Church were assisted, first, by the subordination of spiritual faith to intellectual creed, the clergy coming to be regarded as endowed in due succession to be centralising guarantees of doctrinal truth; then by the restless machinations of the cunning and ambitious



Callistus, Bishop of the Roman Church, who claimed to be able to forgive sins and readmit to fellowship men of gross and evil lives; and subsequently by Cyprian's establishment (in spite of the resolute stand made by Novatian for purity and holiness) of the principle that the unity of the Church depended not on a common life in the spirit, but on the cohesion of the bishops, though even Cyprian knew of no archbishop, and no episcopal authority undervived from the people. How the secularisation of the Church under Constantine, the uniformity-mongering of Theodosius, the importation of materialistic superstition into baptism and the Lord's Supper through the influence of heathenism, Gnosticism and the Greek mysteries, quickly matured the priestly idea—all this we are told in a later chapter. The historical foundations of the argument having thus been laid in the origins of the Christian Church, the remaining three chapters (it may be briefly stated) speak of the development of the Papacy, the Anglican Church in the Tudor times, and the Anglican Church from 1603 to 1833, in the early part of which latter period the claim to apostolical succession was, in the face of much resistance, first set up in the Anglican Church by Richard Bancroft as a counterblast to Presbyterianism, was afterwards revived and fixed upon the Church by Laud, and was finally, after an interval of "neglect," more emphatically enforced by John Henry Newman as "the real ground on which [clerical] authority is built."

The book is strongest in dealing with the origins, and these will, after all, prove the final court of appeal. The position and authority of the bishop is the fundamental question; and Dr Brown does solid service in showing how the discovery of the *Didachè*, together with the latest work issuing from the pure historical school represented by Dr Hort and Professor Ramsay, has tended in the direction of proving that the position and authority of the diocesan bishop and the supernatural sacerdotal claims of the clerical caste were unknown to the churches of the first two centuries. So keenly do advanced Anglicans appreciate the trend of current criticism that their champions are driven to depreciate criticism itself, Canon Gore striving to belittle the judicial reputation of Dr Hort, and Canon Moberly seeking to undermine an interpretation of history which is not guarded by presuppositions. Dr Brown's admirable digest of the historical arguments and pertinent facts which this party must sooner or later face if they are not to be stamped as unworthy of a scientific age, can be grasped by any English reader of average intelligence; while the spirit pervading the whole discussion is so exemplary and conciliatory that there is nothing, except the facts, to irritate the most sensitive opponent.

No doubt there will be occasional differences of opinion, even among the sympathisers with Dr Brown, as to his views on criticism and his reading of history. He speaks, for instance, as if there were more certainty than there really is about the dates of the successive periods of St Peter's life (pp. 85, 86), and about his sojourn in Babylon. He states without any qualification that St Paul, in the phrase *οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι* (2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11), refers to the Twelve—an interpretation which even Hilgenfeld and Holsten have in the light of the context ceased to uphold. Probably also he extracts from the phrase "certain came from James" (Gal. ii. 12) too distinct a trace of James's Jewish "rigidity." Further, we do not quite clearly see why (p. 154) the absence of the article before the words *ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις* (Phil. i. 1) "shows that the summary of the persons constituting the Christian Church at Philippi was complete." There is more doubt, too, than Dr Brown seems to admit whether bishops and deacons, where such offices obtained, monopolised the presbyterate, and whether there may not have been presbyters besides. Nor is it to be affirmed without hesitation that *πρεσβύτερος* was originally a Jewish and *ἐπίσκοπος* a Gentile title: any such exclusiveness of classification must at present be based on insufficient evidence.

But, with such a book before us, we are in no humour to pick holes. And the holes are small holes, even if we add to their number such as experts may discover here and there in the author's reading of the history of the Reformation period. The main argument is untouched by such slight flaws: the book remains a calm, judicial and effective apology for an historical, an uncorrupted, and a spiritual Christianity.

J. MASSIE.

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### **The Conception of God: A Philosophical Discussion concerning the Nature of the Divine Idea as a Demonstrable Reality.**

*By Josiah Royce, Joseph Le Conte, G. H. Howison, and Sidney Edward Mezes. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1897. Pp. xxxviii. 354. Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

THOUGH second in order of publication, this is designed and numbered as the first volume of a series to be issued under the auspices of the Philosophical Union of the University of California, and under the general editorship of G. H. Howison, LL.D., Mills Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in that University, and one of the contributors to the work now

before us. The earlier volume of the series, Professor Watson's *Christianity and Idealism*, which somehow managed to outstrip its intended predecessor, was noticed in this *Review* last year (vol. vii. p. 177). A special interest will doubtless attach to the present work in the minds of many readers of the *Critical Review*, from the fact that, first of all Transatlantic scholars and thinkers to receive the important appointment, Professor Royce, to whose pen is due the major part of this discussion on "The Conception of God," has been chosen as the next Gifford lecturer on Natural Theology in the University of Aberdeen.

The origin of the volume, we are informed, was a public discussion held at the seat of the University of California in 1895, in which the four gentlemen named on the title-page took part. Of these, two are Professors in the University of California, one in Harvard, and one in the University of Texas, but their association in the discussion is not accidental, since Professor Royce recognises in the Californian University his *Alma Mater*, and in Professor Le Conte a former teacher of his own; while Professor Mezes had been a pupil of each of the other disputants. After the original discussion, the report of which had been published in pamphlet form, several more private meetings took place, "in which the leader of the original debate had ample opportunity to reply to his critics, and to expound further consequences of his thesis." The proceedings of these meetings were not printed, but when a year later the Philosophical Union resolved "to give the whole discussion a more permanent form," Professor Royce was invited "to put on record his replies to his critics, to extend and confirm, at his pleasure, his main argument, and to expound some further developments of his doctrine" (p. 135).

The present volume consists therefore of the following papers, of which it is desirable to indicate the relative extent:—1st, Professor Royce's address, which forms the basis of the whole discussion and extends to forty-eight pages; 2nd, a criticism by Professor Mezes, twelve pages in length; 3rd, a statement, also extending to twelve pages, partly in criticism of Professor Royce, partly in exposition of his own view, by Professor Le Conte, well-known in this country by his admirable books—*Religion and Science* and *Evolution in its Relation to Religious Thought*; 4th, Professor Howison's comments on all the foregoing theories, occupying fifty-two pages; and 5th, Professor Royce's supplementary essay extending to 220 pages or much more than half of the whole book. But not even thus is the discussion finished, for Professor Howison, as editor, prefixes an introduction of thirty pages, in which he repudiates, if he does not refute, Professor Royce's criticisms of himself, and, with the same object, adds various footnotes to Professor Royce's Supplementary

Essay. Professor Mezes, on the whole, fares the worst, for while he is permitted to breathe a defiant sentence through the mouth of the general editor, "the limits of the volume have forbidden the insertion of his rejoinder in full. Its unavoidable length precluded its appearance as a whole, while the close articulation of its parts made impracticable any excerpts that would do it justice" (p. xxxviii., note). Altogether we are not favourably impressed with the form which the book has taken. It is true, as the editor remarks, that "discussion is the method of philosophy," but no permanent contribution to philosophical thought should perpetuate the purely accidental circumstances of its origin. Except to those who were present at the discussion, or to those who took part in it, these circumstances can have no interest, and they are a hindrance rather than a help to the acceptance of the book as a mature philosophical treatise, for on every side the reader is met by complaints of limitation of space, and the lament that this or that explanation and defence is thereby rendered impossible. A Platonic dialogue takes the form of a discussion doubtless, but it is artistic in a sense in which this volume is the acme of awkwardness, and its dialectic movement helps forward the thought in a way in which the conference of the four American Professors wholly fails to do. While his work here gives evidence of a power and resource, a speculative breadth and subtlety, which leads us to anticipate with keen interest the fruits of his Gifford Lectureship, we shall not be sorry that Professor Royce will on that occasion have no antagonist to consider except the stern difficulties of the problems with which he will have to deal.

Within the compass of a notice like this it is impossible to give an adequate account either of the main argument or of the various criticisms it elicited. Of the latter especially a mere indication can be given. In his opening address Professor Royce points out that "a really fruitful philosophical study of the conception of God is inseparable from an attempt to estimate what evidence there is for the existence of God" (p. 6). He then concentrates attention upon the attribute of Omniscience, provisionally defines the word "God" as indicating "a being who is conceived as possessing to the full all logically possible knowledge, insight, wisdom," and asks, "Does there demonstrably exist an Omniscient Being? or is the conception of an Omniscient Being, for all that we can say, a bare ideal of the human mind?" (p. 7). An Omniscient Being would be one with whom, therein differing from us, there would be no divorce between idea and fact; He would find "presented to him, not by virtue of fragmentary and gradually completed processes of inquiry, but by virtue of an all-embracing, direct, and transparent insight into his own truth . . . the fulfilled answer to every genuinely rational

question" (p. 8). The thought and experience of such a Being would be all-embracing, absolute; it would also be fully or completely *organised*, that is, He would have "present to himself all the conceivable relations amongst facts, so that in his world nothing would be fragmentary, disunited, confused, unrelated" (p. 14). Does such an Omniscient Being exist? The author starts from an examination of that human ignorance which so forcibly suggests a Being possessed of all possible knowledge. Here the point that is made is "that our ignorance of reality cannot mean an ignorance of some object that we can conceive as existing apart from any possible experience or knowledge of what it is" (p. 19). In other words, that is not ignorance, at least in any sense of which philosophy needs to take account, which is ignorance of what no intelligence can possibly know. It is ignorance which will, or may be, displaced by knowledge. The knowledge which Science substitutes for the impressions of sense is an organised experience which, though indirect, "reveals more of phenomenal truth than can ever be revealed to our direct sensory states as these pass by" (p. 21). Therein consists the truth of Science as contrasted with our individual experience, and if the organised knowledge which it represents be conceived as raised to its highest terms, we have an absolute experience face to face with an absolute reality; in fact, we can only define "absolute reality" as "either that which is present to an absolutely organised experience, or that which would be presented as the content of such an experience if there were one" (p. 31). But such an absolute experience cannot be conceived as a bare possibility only. A fragmentary experience is only intelligible in the light of an experience that is not fragmentary. "The very effort hypothetically to assert that the whole world of experience is a world of fragmentary and finite experience, is an effort involving a contradiction. Experience must constitute, in its entirety, one self-determined and consequently absolute and organised whole" (p. 41). "There is, then, an Absolute Experience, for which the conception of an absolute reality, i.e. the conception of a system of ideal truth, is fulfilled by the very contents that get presented to this Experience." It is "related to our experience as an organic whole to its own fragments. It is an experience which finds fulfilled all that the completest thought can rationally conceive as genuinely possible. Herein lies its definition as an Absolute." Its contents "form a self-determined whole, than which nothing completer, more organic, more fulfilled, more transparent, or more complete in meaning, is concretely or genuinely possible. On the other hand, these contents are not foreign to those of our finite experience, but are inclusive of them in the unity of our life" (pp. 43-4). The conception thus reached Professor Royce regards as the philosophical

conception of God. It is founded upon the principle that "all knowledge is of something experienced," with this almost inevitable expansion that "if a world of finite experience exists at all, this world must have a consistently definable constitution, in order that it may exist" (p. 46). He claims that it is "distinctly theistic and not pantheistic" (p. 49), and that "every ethical predicate that the highest religious faith of the past has attributed to God is capable of exact interpretation in terms of our present view" (p. 50).

We have been struck in reading this essay with the curious parallel between the course of reasoning adopted and that in Ferrier's *Institutes of Metaphysic*. There can be no question of the independence of Professor Royce's argument, and the resemblance becomes therefore all the more instructive. Ferrier also makes one of the pillars of his structure an "Agnoiology; or, Theory of Ignorance." His "Law of all Ignorance" (*Institutes*, p. 412) is: "We can be ignorant only of what can possibly be known; in other words, there can be an ignorance only of that of which there can be a knowledge" (compare the reference above to p. 19). And the concluding propositions of his "Ontology; or, Theory of Existence" lead us to the recognition of the fact that "the only true, and real, and independent Existences are minds, together with that which they apprehend" (the imperfect, fragmentary human experiences of Professor Royce), and that of these, all are contingent *except one*—"in other words, there is One, but only one, Absolute Existence which is strictly *necessary*; and that existence is a supreme, and infinite, and everlasting Mind in synthesis with all things" (*Institutes*, pp. 511, 522). (Compare the summary of Professor Royce's doctrine on pp. 103-4.) It is true that the conclusion, as well as the mode of arriving at it, may be said to be common to all Idealism; but in this case the parallel is, as we have indicated, more than usually close and striking.

Professor Mezes entitles his criticism "Worth and Goodness as Marks of the Absolute," and in the main it is occupied in pointing out what Professor Royce had *not* proved by his argument rather than any errors in that argument so far as it goes. But it may be asked, Is such an argument any less valid and useful because it does not prove everything? It has been a mistake and fault of very many writers on Theism since Kant, to carp at the Theistic arguments because each of them does not lead us into all the fulness of the Divine Existence. Surely, if the existence of an Omniscient Being can be shown to be a necessary implication of thought and experience, this is not inconsistent with the possession by that Being of other Attributes otherwise attested, and faith acquires a foothold by no means to be despised.

Professor Le Conte, in his "God, and Connected Problems in



the Light of Evolution," develops an argument of his own, bringing into notice the relation of the conception of God to the idea of Immortality, as Professor Howison, in his comments, which he entitles "The City of God, and the true God as its Head," emphasises the thought of Freedom, and those ethical implications of the problem which he conceives to be endangered by Professor Royce's view. It is indeed the case, as Professor Howison points out in his preface, that the three conceptions of God, Freedom and Immortality run up into each other, and can hardly be studied apart. On the ground of Freedom, Professor Howison distinguishes his own doctrine, which he terms Pluralistic, Ethical, or simply Personal Idealism, from the Monism which he conceives to be involved in Professor Royce's view, and to be inseparable from a pantheistic absorption of the many in the One. This inference Professor Royce in turn repudiates, and in his supplementary essay on "The Absolute and the Individual," he enters at length into the discussion of the Principle of Individuation and the relations of the Self-conscious Individual, including the question of Individual Immortality.

We may call attention, in conclusion, to the interesting account of the two great Scholastic theories of Individuation—the Thomistic and the Scotistic—contained in the supplementary Essay, and also to the no less interesting historical sketch of recent speculation, so far as it bears upon the conception of God, and the present state of the controversy regarding it, contained in the preface of Professor Howison. He holds as its outcome that we are justified in the hope, even in the persuasion, "that religion, in its highest historic meaning, is verifiable by reason." He and those who think with him maintain that "their inheritance in aspirations after Immortality as the only field for exercising to the full their moral Freedom—in longings after the reality of God, in which alone, as they see, have those aspirations any sure warrant—will be shown valid at the bar of knowledge, will be vindicated as of the substance of reality itself, when once the nature of that reality gets stated as genuine intelligence sees it to be. . . . The hour has arrived, they are sure, for a higher philosophy, thoroughly Personal, which will prove itself Complete Idealism and Fulfilled Realism at one and the same time" (p. xxviii.).

ALEXANDER STEWART.

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**La Pensée de Jésus sur le Royaume de Dieu d'après les Évangiles synoptiques avec un appendice sur la question du "Fils de l'homme."**

*Par Frédéric Krop. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 142. Price, 4 Fr.*

THE Kingdom of God as a technicality of New Testament Theology still attracts enquiry. Not the least serviceable part of M. Krop's publication is the full Bibliography in which he catalogues the various books and monographs in which this subject has received treatment. That he himself has made good use of the industry and ingenuity of his predecessors, his notes afford abundant evidence. These notes contain much valuable criticism, and the same may be said of the Appendix, in which Lietzmann's brochure on the "Son of Man" is convincingly dealt with.

It is from the religious consciousness of Jesus that M. Krop starts in his interpretation of His life and His proclamation of the Kingdom. He thinks it possible to ascribe too much influence to the Old Testament during the period of our Lord's youth, impossible to ascribe too much to His delight in God. So close was the intimacy between His Spirit and the Divine, that He could with all sincerity say: "My Father and I are one." This unique, unheard of, sinless fellowship with God, which is the great mystery of all history, we cannot penetrate. We can only say, God was there. It was the happiness occasioned by this fellowship with God which He wished every man to enjoy. The joy He felt could only be the joy promised under the term "Kingdom of God," and the fact that He possessed it was proof that it was nigh, delayed only by the sin of the people.

It was this actual possession of supreme happiness in fellowship with the Father which gave Jesus His interpretation of the Kingdom, and determined his attitude towards the expectations of His countrymen. They cherished a feverish expectation of the judgment of God upon the nations, followed by an era of national prosperity, in which religious and political dreams are grotesquely mingled. They looked for the establishment of the Kingdom by terrific cosmic catastrophes; and they believed that the elect people were to be distinguished from the pagans devoted to extermination by the observance of the Law, and especially of the ceremonial of Moses and the elders. M. Krop makes it his aim to show that, while using language which might admit of a material interpretation, our Lord's own enjoyment of the simple, spiritual, personal blessings of the Kingdom preserved Him from adopting the current fantastic de-

scriptions of the future; and how by His own inward harmony with God He perceived the inadequacy of Jewish legalism, and laid down quite other conditions of entrance into the Kingdom.

M. Krop believes that at the beginning of His ministry Jesus expected to see the final catastrophe in His own lifetime, and finds no difficulty in citing expressions which seem to favour this idea. But His experience of the opposition of the authorities and the obduracy of the people caused Him to abandon the hope of so prompt a conversion. He is thus thrown upon the idea that the Father must mean Him to die, and to return with power and in glory. This return will find place within the generation then on earth; and it is this which explains why He wrote nothing, arranged no permanent organisation, and paid no attention to the social aspect of His work. On one point in this connection M. Krop elaborately insists, and that is, that Jesus always conceived the Kingdom as future. "The Kingdom is at hand," "Thy Kingdom come," "The meek *shall* inherit the earth," and several other sayings are cited as evidence, while those words of Jesus which speak of the Kingdom as present are proleptic; and, moreover, the substantive verb is suppressed in Aramaic. The Parables of the Kingdom, M. Krop supposes, are evidence of the same conception of its coming as future. But in admitting, as of necessity he does, that Jesus inaugurated the Kingdom, and, by His hand to hand conflict with Satan, defeated the prince of the terrestrial *malkuth*, he grants all that need be contended for. The Kingdom was present in the person of Jesus and in those who received His Spirit, but could only "come" in its complete realisation after many days.

In a closing chapter on "The King," M. Krop shows that Jesus had the consciousness of being something more than a herald proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom. The titles applied to Him in the gospels are examined, "Son of David," "Son of Man," "Son of God." The first of these titles was only once, and then in peculiar circumstances, used by Jesus Himself, who was ever on His guard against awaking the political hopes of the people. The title "Son of God," M. Krop considers, is purely Messianic.

To our thinking, M. Krop, by the excellence of his treatise, has justified the addition of another volume to those which already might seem to have threshed out all the good grain of this field. It is written in a style that is lucid, and which once or twice kindles into eloquence. The spirit is reverential and kindly. Full account is taken of the gospel material, and considerable light thrown upon some contested passages; and if there are omissions—as, *e.g.*, of the miraculous element in Christ's work—these may be accounted for by the limits which the author imposed on himself. As an introduction to the subject it takes a high place; and may be recom-

mended in this aspect in preference to the well-known German treatises.

MARCUS DODS.

### **La Composition des Évangiles.**

*Par Edouard Roehrich. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 518. Price, 7.50 Fr.*

M. ROEHRICH'S purpose in this elaborate work is to examine the gospels as literary compositions; to ascertain the object of the several Evangelists, their sources of information, and their peculiarities as writers. His method is to take each of the gospels in succession—Mark, Luke, Matthew, John—and to examine in detail what may assist him in his enquiry. The priority of Mark he establishes by the usual arguments, and he finds that, besides the reminiscences of Peter, Mark has used a number of sayings of Jesus which he himself has gathered, and the common tradition regarding the Passion and Resurrection. He surpasses the other Evangelists in narrative, seizing upon the picturesque and memorable features of a scene; but he attends too little to the development of the ministry of our Lord. For the hypothesis of a Proto-Mark he finds no need. Besides the documents used by Mark another source of the first order, the Logia, was used by Matthew and Luke, both of whom also used with discrimination the large body of oral tradition current in their time. M. Roehrich does not determine whether the narratives of the Birth and Infancy used by these Evangelists existed in writing or as oral tradition. So far as regards the narrative in Luke, he leans to the former alternative. These narratives he considers to be genuinely historical. The genealogy given by Luke he believes to be that of Mary, and finds an argument for this in the fact that his "Master, the Apostle Paul," expressly says that Jesus is the descendant of David "according to the flesh."

The most original part of M. Roehrich's investigation is that which concerns the relation of Matthew and Luke respectively to the original sources used by Mark. In using that material Luke adopts three methods of assimilating it to his own narrative, and these three methods M. Roehrich names "Transposition," "Interversion," "Omission." The last explains itself, and the reasons assigned by our author for the omissions in Luke are certainly more reasonable than the fancy that he possessed an imperfect copy of Mark's Gospel. More interesting and subtle are the instances of Transposition. When Luke wishes to give a different version of a scene recorded by Mark, he does not scruple to shift it to another place in the history in which it better suits his purpose. It will

suggest itself to the reader that where Luke does this, he may have had additional information. By "Interversion" M. Roehrich means the interpolation by Luke of what he borrows from other sources into the narrative of Mark. Many of the differences between Luke and Mark are explained by the translation into "Japhetic" of Semitic expressions.

It will be seen, then, that in M. Roehrich's volume there is not a great deal that is new, although all is independently investigated and thought out. The volume is rather serviceable than important. It is a very full, well-arranged, and lucidly written account of the conclusions at which an evangelical scholar can arrive regarding the composition of the four gospels, together with the reasons for these conclusions rendered in the full light of recent criticism. The whole investigation is characterised by knowledge, acuteness, and sobriety.

MARCUS DODS.

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**Die Synoptischen Parallelen und ein alter Versuch ihrer  
Enträtselung mit neuer Begründung.**

*Von Lic. Theol. Karl Veit, Pastor in Siegersdorf. Gütersloh:  
Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate,  
1897. 8vo, 1st part, pp. 212; 2nd part, pp. 162. Price, M.7.*

THIS volume consists of two distinct parts, and might, with an eye to convenience, have been issued in two volumes. In the first part the Greek text of the synoptical gospels is printed. But considering that the ordinary arrangement in parallel columns is not sufficiently *synoptical*—that is to say, does not afford a sufficiently easy and direct comparative view—Veit adopts a method of his own. He prints the gospels in alternate lines; a line from Matthew, then the corresponding line of Mark, then that from Luke. The gospels are distinguished by the figures 1, 2, 3; so that even when one is omitted, those which are represented in the text are at once identified by the figure at the beginning of the line. The order followed is that of the second gospel, so that the narratives of the birth and childhood of Jesus are wanting. The text adopted is Gebhardt's. Plainly this method has its advantages for anyone who is pursuing a certain kind of investigation. A glance tells us whether the incident, phrase, or word which occurs, say in Matthew, is represented in Mark and Luke, and by what. Its disadvantages are also obvious. Still, as supplementary to Tischendorf, Huck, and the rest, it is to be welcomed as a distinct addition to the apparatus for facilitating enquiry into the relation of the gospels to one another.

The second and more important part of the volume is occupied with an elaborate defence of the oral tradition hypothesis of the origin of the gospels. Had Veit known Mr Arthur Wright's treatment of the same subject, his defence might in some parts have been considerably strengthened. Veit serves himself heir to Gieseler, and adds to the older critic's exposition little that materially affects the result. His criticism of opponents is never ill-tempered, but he does not always seem to see the strength of the opposition. And there is too much criticism, especially of Wilke's *Der Evangelist*, which he allows even to modify the form of his own exposition. He hangs upon Wilke's heels, and consequently is at times less direct in the pursuit of his own proper object than is desirable. But however small may be the net result of the discussion, Veit has the merit of opening with knowledge and intelligence some questions which, though fundamental to any satisfactory treatment of the synoptical problem, cannot be said to have been finally answered.

Veit, with Gieseler, bases his theory on the Jewish partiality for oral tradition, and the Rabbinic shrinking from committing their knowledge to writing. In this connection, however, it should have been noted that this preference for oral tradition is the self-preserving instinct of a caste or order whose interest it is to pose as the sole depositories of a certain recondite knowledge. Whether the opposite instinct of the Apostles to make as widely public as possible what they knew, might not operate in favour of writing, Veit should at all events have discussed. That there was among the Rabbis this preference for oral teaching, and the accompanying persuasion that the memory could retain as fixed an impression as papyrus or vellum, is admitted. Mishna, or doctrine, literally means "what is repeated," and it was by repetition knowledge was inculcated. And when oral tradition is spoken of as the basis of the gospels, what is meant is not that the gospels are a planless compilation of popular tales, rumours, and fancies, but the deliberate selection made by the college of apostles of what it was most necessary to teach regarding their Master. They have something of the character of a mosaic, but this is the natural result of their origin; bit by bit, scene by scene, parable by parable, they had to be communicated to the catechumens. To the catechumens—for it was the necessity of instructing them, not the necessity of summoning men into the kingdom, which lies at the basis of the gospels. And if it be said that such a mechanical and tedious filling and training of the memory was inconsistent with the spiritual enthusiasm of the times; it is to be remembered that in, *e.g.*, the 119th Psalm, we find the same mingling of the mechanical with a highly-wrought enthusiasm, and also that the catechumens could not over-

look that what they were learning was the word of life, the word of Christ.

But this suggests the much more serious question: How were the Twelve themselves instructed? If the Apostles delivered to the people what they considered to be best in the teaching of Jesus, how had they themselves retained these things in memory? Is there any trace of such a schooling of their memory as they gave to the catechumens? Veit thinks there is. Certain of our Lord's most memorable sayings would find for themselves a permanent lodging in the memory. But what of the longer discourses, on the verbal accuracy of which so much depended? Where, indeed, there is full inward comprehension of the Lord's mind, the actual wording may not be of so much consequence. Yet even in this case how much may be missed by abridgment, by slight alterations, by embellishments. How much often depends on the exact language. Can our Lord have neglected to secure this exactness in His representatives? He said, "My words shall not pass away"; did He at the same time allow them to be forgotten? Veit believes this to be inconceivable; and he is of opinion that there are traces visible of the method He adopted for indoctrinating the Twelve. He not only repeated rudimentary truths, but points that were raised in public, and to which He gave a popular answer, He discussed again in private with the Twelve until His meaning, and even the words in which His meaning was best embodied, were fixed in their memories.

It will therefore be seen that there is much of interest in Veit's volume. But that he materially alters the prospects of the Tradition hypothesis may be doubted. The old difficulties remain. That apostolic preaching preceded the writing of gospels is certain; but by how long an interval is uncertain. The third gospel, Blass assures us, was written in 56 A.D., and already many written gospels were in existence. This indeed might *à priori* be anticipated. At the first preaching in Jerusalem there were present Jews and proselytes from all parts of the world, and from parts of the world where writing was common. Must there not have been at once a demand for written gospels of greater or less extent? And at whatever date these gospels originated is it not likely that their authors would not confine themselves to reminiscences of apostolic preaching, but would gather material where they could? The implication, too, of an organisation for teaching in the very earliest days of the Church is apparently inconsistent with the inchoate condition of things as described in the Acts. And the often urged difficulty of understanding how the order of events as well as their wording should be similar remains as before. The structure of the third gospel, as well as its



preface, is evidence that St Luke used both oral and written sources of information, and to determine the proportion in which he employed them, or how the one was interlaced with the other, and was corrected by the other, is one of the difficulties of the unsolved synoptical problem.

MARCUS DODS.

### **The Cambridge Bible for Schools.**

*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, chaps. xl.-lxvi., with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, London. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1898. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxi. 251. Price, 4s.*

ISAIAH is one of the few books of the Old Testament that have been commented on both frequently and well. But Professor Skinner's volume satisfies, in a most admirable manner, a want that must have been long and widely felt. Both in the Notes and in the Introduction the results of the varied criticism of the book are succinctly stated. The author shows a fine sense of proportion in his treatment of the numerous subjects—historical, critical and exegetical—that come before him. He devotes no undue attention either to dead controversies or to the minuter and as yet far from settled critical problems. In a word, the commentary successfully fulfils the purpose of the series to which it belongs—it is precisely what the student requires in approaching this most interesting and most difficult book; for it elucidates the text by clearly and accurately stating what is well established, and at the same time it indicates with sufficient prominence where uncertainty still exists.

The Introduction falls into five chapters, the several subjects being "The Contents of the Prophecy," "The Historical Background of the Prophecy," "The Prophet's Theological Conceptions," "The Date and Authorship of the Prophecy," "The Unity of the Prophecy." The Appendix contains discussions of two important exegetical questions—the meaning of the terms "The Servant of Jehovah" and "Righteousness"—and of "some critical theories of the composition of chaps. xl.-lxvi."

In the "Analysis of the Prophecy" (pp. x.-xvii.) Professor Skinner, though he desires in this part of his work to be severely neutral, will raise questions in the mind of a careful reader. Isaiah xl.-lxvi. falls into three main sections, xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lv., lvi.-lxvi. Each of these is sharply distinguished from the others in its lines of thought, though the first two are also connected by one common conception of great importance. "In the second division of the prophecy several lines of thought, which have been very prominent



in the first, entirely disappear. The references to Cyrus and the prediction of the fall of Babylon, the appeal to past prophecies now fulfilled, the polemic against idolatry, and the impressive inculcation of the sole deity of Jehovah, all these now familiar topics henceforth vanish from the writer's argument. But one great conception is carried over from the first part to the second, and forms an important link of connection between them. This is the figure of Jehovah's ideal servant" (p. xiv.). "The third section of the book is less homogeneous in its composition than the two others. In passing from chap. lv. to chap. lvi., the reader is at once sensible of a change of manner and circumstance, which becomes still more manifest as he proceeds" (p. xv.). In chap. v. Professor Skinner gives some account of the theory (associated particularly in its different forms with the names of Duhm and Cheyne) according to which the peculiar character of chaps. lvi.-lxvi. are due to diversity of authorship. It is clear that Professor Skinner considers the correctness of this theory to be highly probable. It is certainly a very significant fact that, as Professor Skinner elsewhere (p. xxi. n) points out, the references which imply the author to have been resident in Babylon and contemporary with Cyrus, are almost, if not entirely, confined to chaps. xl.-lv. It may be added, that the passages on which the maintainers of the Isaianic authorship of the whole book used to lay most stress in their counter criticism to the argument that chaps. xl.-lxvi. presupposed an author living in Babylon, were largely derived from chaps. lvi.-lxvi. In brief, then, it is far less easy to prove from chaps. lvi.-lxvi. than from xl.-lv., regarded by themselves, either that they were written in Babylon or that they originated during the exile. Now that the question of a diversity of authorship for these two sections has been raised, a conviction that chaps. lvi.-lxvi. are a product of the Babylonian exile must rest largely on the assumption or the proof of identity of authorship with the previous chapters. The difference of theme which Professor Skinner's analysis reveals is not necessarily inconsistent with unity, but it creates at least a further necessity for a very careful deliberation.

The theory that even chaps. xlix.-lv. are not the work of the Babylonian prophet, to which Professor Skinner briefly alludes on p. 243, is now accepted by Professor Cheyne in his edition of *Isaiah* in the "Polychrome Bible." This view is, of course, rendered somewhat more probable if another conclusion, also adopted by Professor Cheyne in his recent work, be correct, viz., that the "servant" passages are not merely the work of a different author, but are interpolations subsequent to the time of the Babylonian prophet. For in this way the great common conception that unites

xl.-xlviii. and xlix.-lv. is a purely illusory mark of common authorship. Professor Skinner, in his discussion of the "servant" passages (pp. liii.-lv.), it must be remembered, is referring to Professor Cheyne's *Introduction*, not to his "Polychrome" *Isaiah*, which latter was published after Professor Skinner's commentary.

Once again, in spite of his would-be neutrality, Professor Skinner really proves that chaps. xl.-lxvi. are not the work of Isaiah in chap. ii. (*cf.* especially pp. xx. f.). It may still be necessary for some little time to come gravely to argue that there is a difference between the style of Isaiah's writings and that of chaps. xl.-lxvi. of the book which bears his name. But the real proof that these chapters are not Isaiah's lies in the fact that a large section of them presuppose the Exile from which they predict a return; for from this it necessarily follows that they were written in the sixth century, and therefore cannot have been the work of Isaiah, who lived in the eighth century B.C. No one whose view of prophecy saves him from the necessity of this conclusion is likely to be convinced by the various differences of points of style. Where internal evidence is conclusive we need not greatly lament the absence of external evidence. But Professor Skinner might have stated with somewhat greater clearness and emphasis than he does that the earliest external "evidence" for Isaiah's authorship of chaps. xl.-lxvi. is five centuries later than the prophet's death. But in doing more than justice to those from whom he differs, he commits a very pardonable error.

In a note on "Sing unto the Lord a new song" (xlii. 10) Professor Skinner writes:—"The expression is common in the Psalms (xxxiii. 3, xl. 3, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1, cxliv. 9, cxlix. 1; *cf.* Rev. xiv. 2). These Psalmists probably borrowed the term from our prophet, whose use of it bears the stamp of originality." This involves the conclusion that Ps. xl. is post-exilic. I see no reason to doubt that it is, though some (*e.g.* Kautzsch) have ably argued for a pre-exilic date, on the ground of the *character* of the references to sacrifice. The parallel in any case is worthy of attention, for the relation of Ps. xl. 3 to Isa. xlii. 10 has an interesting, but, so far as I am aware, hitherto unobserved similarity to the relation between other parallel passages in Isaiah xl.-lv. and the Psalms. In four instances what is regarded as *future* by the prophet, is regarded as *past* by the Psalmist. Thus, corresponding to "Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth" in the prophecy, we find in the Psalms (xl. 3)—"And he put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God"; again, parallel to "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee . . . when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned" (Isa. xliii. 2), we find—"We went through fire and

through water, but thou broughtest us out into a wide place" (Ps. lxvi. 12). Compare also Isa. xlv. 2b with Ps. cvii. 16. The remaining instance is Ps. xviii. 44-48, 52, and Isa. lv. 3, 5; in this case the tenses in the Psalms are imperfect, but in these verses as generally in Ps. xviii. they refer to the past. I have already discussed this last parallel elsewhere (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VII., pp. 658-686, especially pp. 682, etc.), and stated my reasons for regarding Ps. xviii. as post-exilic.

I will take this opportunity of communicating another matter that is not without a bearing on some of the critical problems connected with the last part of the Book of Isaiah, and noticed by Professor Skinner. Some years ago I investigated the usage of Jacob and Israel (= the nation), as synonymous terms in parallel lines or clauses; as a typical instance of the usage, it may suffice to quote, "Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen" (Isa. xlv. 1). By the nature of the case the usage is practically confined to the prophetic and poetical literature; the only instance in simple prose being Ex. xix. 3 (JE). But within the poetical and prophetic literature it is only really characteristic of two or three writers; in others it is either not found, or it is quite sporadic. Thus we find no instance of the usage in the books of Hosea (xii. 13 refers to the patriarch), Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi; and although the terms Jacob and Israel stand near together in two passages of Amos (iii. 13 f., ix. 8 f.) in neither case are they corresponding terms in parallel clauses. It occurs sporadically in the genuine writings of Isaiah and Jeremiah,<sup>1</sup> and in the books of Ezekiel (xx. 5, xxxix. 25, cf. xxviii. 25) and Nahum (ii. 2—see especially Nowack's emendation), and in non-Isaianic parts of Isaiah i.-xxxix. (xiv. 1, xxvii. 6, cf. xiv. 1b, 2). It occurs with such frequency as to be characteristic in three authors only (apart from certain Psalmists, on which see below); in the songs of Balaam we find seven (or eight) instances (Num. xxiii. 7, 10, 21, 23; xxiv. 5, 17, 18c, 19), in the genuine prophecies of Micah (chaps. i.-iii.) four instances (i. 5, iii. 1, 8, 9; ii. 12 is the work of a later writer), in Isaiah xl.-lv. *seventeen* instances (xl. 27; xli. 8, 14; xlii. 24; xliii. 1, 22, 28; xlv. 1, 5, 21, 23; xlv. 4; xlvi. 3; xlviii. 1, 12; xlix. 5, 6. Cf. xlv. 2). The remaining instances of the usage in the O. T. occur as follows: three in Ps. lxxviii. (vers. 5, 21, 71), two in Ps.

<sup>1</sup> In Isaiah at most five times; for certain only once—ix. 8; the Isaianic authorship of x. 20, xxix. 28 is questioned (*e.g.* by Cheyne); viii. 17 f., x. 21 f. are not cases of strict parallelism. In Jeremiah once certainly,—ii. 4; but the five other instances (x. 16=li. 19, xxx. 10=xlvi. 27, xxxi. 7) occur in passages of doubtful, and in some cases of very doubtful, authenticity (*cf.* Driver, *Introduct.* pp. 254, 272 f.).

cv. (vers. 10, 23), one each in seven other Psalms, xiv. 7 = liii. 7 ; xxii. 24 ; lxxxi. 5 ; cxiv. 1 ; cxxxv. 4 ; cxlvii. 19 ; and in other poetical passages, Deut. xxxiii. 10, 28 ; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 ; Lam. ii. 3. 1 Chron. xvi. 13, 17 are citations from Ps. cv.

In many instances we find one or other, or sometimes both of the two terms, amplified by the prefix of such a phrase as "house of"; so especially in Micah, but never in Balaam, and only once or twice in the Deutero-Isaiah.

The usage, it is clear, is confined to no particular period of Hebrew Literature; it occurs in the literature of the eighth century (Micah), if not earlier (Balaam), but also in exilic (Lamentations) and post-exilic (Psalms) literature. But the *frequent* employment of the usage is characteristic of only two or three writers. The great frequency of it must be considered a striking characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah. This is not without a bearing on the suspected passages in Jeremiah where the usage occurs, and may illustrate afresh the great influence of the author of Isaiah xl.-lv. on the Psalmists. But it is particularly interesting in connection with recent discussions of the unity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. The usage occurs seventeen times in xl.-lv., but never in lvi.-lxvi. Yet further it occurs fifteen times in xl.-xlviii., and only twice in xlix.-lv. ; but the two occurrences in xlix.-lv. are in a "servant" passage (xlix. 1-6).†

Great questions such as the unity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. cannot be determined by the evidence of a single trick of style. But the foregoing analysis may prove suggestive, though not conclusive. In any case, it serves to bring to light a striking characteristic of the strongly-marked style of the Babylonian Prophet.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

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### **Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen des alten Testaments von neuem geprüft.**

*Von Georg Kerber, Dr Phil. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. 8vo, pp. 99. Price, M.2.80.*

### **Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. Elemente der Laut- und Formenlehre.**

*Von Dr Heinrich Zimmern, a.o. Professor der Assyriologie an der Universität, Leipzig, mit einer Schrifttafel von Julius Euting. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard ; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. and 194. Price, 5s. 6d. net.*

DR KERBER'S is a lucid and sober, though in no way an exhaustive, discussion of his subject. The first chapter of the introduction (pp. 1-12) contains some general remarks on the significance of names

and an excellent analysis of the different types of Hebrew names; the second chapter (pp. 12-23) explains the author's view of the development of Hebrew religion; he closely follows Kuenen. The actual discussion of the religious significance of Hebrew proper names falls into five chapters, of which the first (pp. 23-37) deals with survivals in Hebrew proper names of ancient nature-religion, and discusses such names as compounds with צור and שר (taken to mean "my demon"), and individual names such as אהישחר (שחר = dawn), נחש, and other names signifying serpent. Chapter ii. (37-58) discusses the compounds with מלך, בעל, and און; it is a clear statement of the view that these elements in proper names are proper names and not simply titles of gods, but it does not add materially to Kuenen's argument for the same view. Chapter iii. (58-79) examines the remains of ancient clan-religion with reference to compounds with אב, אח, and עם, and other names (e.g., compounds with איש, גר, אהל, and some of the names of the Hebrew tribes—Gad, Asher, Reuben, Dan). Chapter iv. is devoted to foreign—especially Egyptian—names current among the Hebrews, and chapter v. (80-99) to the compounds with אל and יה.

Perhaps the most important question touched on by Dr Kerber in his essay is the significance of Baal, Melech, and Adon in proper names. There is no question connected with Hebrew religion which rests for its solution so much on the correct interpretation of names as that of the nature of Hebrew Baal worship. I entirely differ from Dr Kerber in his conclusion on this point on grounds which will be found in my *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (pp. 115-148), and are not affected by Dr Kerber's discussion. I should add that Dr Kerber explains that my book came into his hands too late for him to make much use of it. It may be pointed out that to avoid the damaging evidence of the name בעליה (Yahwè is Baal—1 Chron. xii. 5), Dr Kerber (p. 47) attributes the name to the invention of the chronicler.

Names are sometimes cited without any warning that they are doubtful. גור עבל, cited on p. 50, is almost certainly corrupt; cf. *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 126. Again, none of the instances cited of Hebrew compounds with a preposition are quite beyond doubt, though בצלאל is certainly explained with most probability, on the analogy of Ina-silli-Bêl, "in the shadow of God." But לאל is doubtful; and בריה is very probably a corruption for בריה (= בואיה = Yahwè has created). In any case the assumption that it is parallel to the numerous Phœnician names with בר (=, according to G. Hoffmann, by the will of) is hazardous.

In the discussion of abbreviated names (pp. 9-12), Renan's

important article, *Des noms théophores apocopées* in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (v. 161 ff), is not mentioned; this is the more noticeable since Dr Kerber is generally well acquainted with the literature of his subject.

It is not always so clearly indicated, as is desirable, that place names, generally speaking, permit of no direct inference as to Hebrew belief. That a place was called En-Shemesh (p. 33) gives us no right to conclude that the Hebrews ever worshipped the sun.

There are many details on which it would be easy to disagree with Dr Kerber; but the essay as a whole is excellent, and may be warmly recommended. It is to be hoped that the author will pursue the subject and work out such matters as the pronunciation of the Hebrew names in the light of the (vocalised) Assyrian transcriptions, of which he cites an interesting example (pp. 3, 4). Such an investigation should yield valuable results.

The study of the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages has done so much for the correct interpretation of the Old Testament, that any work, which helps to make that study more accurate and more generally pursued, is to be warmly welcomed. Dr Zimmern's Grammar, which forms the latest volume of the *Porta Linguarum* series, is certainly a work of this kind. It is, as the author explains in his Preface, intended to be an *elementary* grammar, and aims primarily at the presentation of the facts, only secondarily and in a less degree at their interpretation. In its general scope it resembles Dr William Wright's *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*; but certain differences of treatment and method will make it well worth the student's while to possess himself of the German as well as of the English work. The chief of these differences are as follows: (1) All the forms cited by Zimmern are transliterated, whereas Wright generally employs the various Semitic alphabets. This will make Zimmern's easier of use for those who are not very familiar with the various alphabets. Transliteration, which to the advanced student is generally an annoyance, has for comparative purposes manifest advantages. (2) A very large part of Zimmern's material is thrown into the form of comparative tables; this is a great and distinctive merit of the work. (3) Assyrian data are more fully employed by Dr Zimmern, who is a distinguished Assyrian scholar.

Both books have certain limitations which are to be regretted. Neither contain any discussion of comparative syntax; for this, for the time being, we must turn to the last volume of Professor König's *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, which is, in this respect as in others, most valuable, though of course in it the standpoint is that of the



Hebrew grammarian. Again, Professor Zimmern has not supplied the deficiency of Dr Wright's work, which consisted in the meagre treatment of the Semitic noun. When Dr Wright's lectures were written, neither of the chief monographs on this subject—de Lagarde's *Uebersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, nor Barth's *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*—had appeared. Since so much has been done of late years in this part of the subject, and since Dr Zimmern informs us (p. vi.) that he has himself devoted more peculiar attention to it, we the more regret that he has limited his presentation of it to 16 pages (pp. 162-178); it is excellent so far as it goes, but altogether too meagre. It is to be hoped that in future editions this part of the book will be considerably enlarged: it might be, without increasing the volume beyond the limits of the series, and without depriving it of its elementary character.

The "Literature" (pp. 186-194) is hardly so full as the general plan of the series might have led us to expect. By a remarkable omission no reference is made to Duval's *Grammaire Syriaque* either in section I. or in the section on Literature.

It would be out of place in reviewing a work which is intended to present established, or, at least, very probable results, and not to contribute to the solution of open and obscure questions, to enter into a discussion of details. The purpose of the book, within the limitations already indicated, is achieved with great success; and along with Dr Wright's, Dr Zimmern's work forms an admirable introduction to a most important subject. No serious student of the Old Testament in the original can consider himself fully equipped without at least such familiarity with Comparative Semitic Grammar as these books will afford him.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

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### **The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac.**

*Edited by the late William Wright, LL.D., and Norman M<sup>c</sup>Lean, M.A., with a collation of the Armenian Version by Dr Adalbert Merx. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1898. Lex. 8vo, pp. xvii. 418. Price, 25s.*

Is our Greek text of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius trustworthy? This question must have been asked by many of the readers of a very interesting letter on the Armenian version of the History contributed by Mr F. C. Conybeare to the *Athenæum* about two or three years ago. That letter, if I may trust my memory, con-



fronted the Greek text with the Armenian, and left it lying under grave suspicion to take its trial at some convenient season. The issue thus raised is a very important one for the *Origines* of Christianity in general and for the history of the Canon of the New Testament in particular. It is true that Eusebius is not an indispensable witness; it is true that if his history were lost or discredited, the period it covers would still be illuminated by a representative and comparatively full series of Christian documents; but the history of Eusebius is a kind of *second line* in the defence of Christianity, strengthening and giving definiteness to the first, and if the text be uncertain, some difficulties arise, especially in the presentation of some parts of the history of the Canon.

The publication of the Syriac text of Eusebius makes it now possible to bring the Greek text to the trial with which it was threatened by Mr Conybeare. It can be confronted not only with Dr Merx's full collation of the Armenian, but also with the readings of the immediate original of the Armenian, i.e. the Syriac. Our new Eusebius is therefore of very great value.

I propose to touch briefly on (1) the contents and arrangement of the work before us; (2) the relative age of the witnesses for the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian texts respectively; (3) the faithfulness of the Syriac version; (4) the verdict suggested by the Syriac on the trustworthiness of the Greek text.

(1) Mr M<sup>c</sup>Lean, in completing Prof. Wright's work, gives us the Syriac text of Bks. i.-v., viii.-x. Bk. vi. chaps. 16, 17, 25, and vii. chap. 32, §§ 29-32; appear as the surviving fragments of Bks. vi., vii. The division of chapters and paragraphs is that of Heinichen. At the foot of the page is given Prof. Merx's collation of the Armenian, taken not from the printed text (which is very faulty), but from MSS.; Syriac variants are also given when of sufficient importance.

(2) As regards the age of the witnesses for each text it may be said that the Syriac stands high above both the Greek and the Armenian. The best Greek MSS. (Heinichen, p. xvii.) belong to the ninth (?), tenth, and twelfth centuries. The three Armenian MSS. known at present are of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Syriac, on the other hand, the St Petersburg MS. (containing Bks. i.-iv., viii.-x.) is dated A.D. 462, while the British Museum MS. (containing Bks. i.-v.) is attributed by Dr Wright to the sixth century. The lateness of Armenian MSS. must not, however, blind us to the early date of the Armenian version, for it seems to have been executed before 430 A.D. (*Preface*, p. xvii.).

(3) With regard to the faithfulness of the Syriac version, Mr M<sup>c</sup>Lean writes:—"Of the two qualities most desirable in a version—faithfulness and literary skill—our Syriac translator

shows both in a considerable degree, but the latter more markedly than the former." With this verdict careful readers will most probably agree. The simple direct style of the Syriac translator refuses to reproduce with faithfulness in detail the involved sentences of Eusebius.

The freedom which the translator has allowed himself is illustrated by the fact that quotations from the Old Testament which are made in the Greek from the LXX are made in the Syriac from the Peshitta. Two instances may be given—

(a) Eus. i. 2, 3.

*Greek.*

*Syriac.*

τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον (Is. ix. 6).

"The Wonder and the Counsellor" (= Pesh.).

(b) *Ibid.* 2, 7.

ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν; (Gen. xviii. 25).

"Judge of all the earth, this judgment shall not be executed!" (= Pesh.).

Some other inaccuracies are:—(a) Bk. iii. 25. τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν = "The Holy Gospels"; (b) *Ibid.* τὰ νόθα and τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα are both rendered, "Those concerning which there is a difference of opinion"; (c) Bk. iii. 39. Ματθαῖος . . . τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο = "Mattaï . . . wrote a Gospel." Some interesting translations, which must not be hastily condemned, occur in the chapter just cited:—(a) "I did not think that I could profit so much from *their books*" (i.e. from the writings of apostles) as from a living and abiding voice"; (b) "A certain woman whose many sins were spoken of *during the time in which our Lord was in the world* (ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου)." (Clearly our Syrian did not know the *Pericope Adulteræ*.) (c) The opening of chap. 30 of Bk. iv. in the Syriac is also noteworthy: "But in the same reign of Antoninus Verus heresies were many, and in Mesopotamia in *Urhai* (i.e. in Edessa) Bardaisan, a man of rank, who was well skilled in the Syrian tongue," &c.

(4) In spite, however, of many small blemishes, the Syriac translation must be pronounced as trustworthy on the whole. As a witness for our present Greek text, its witness is clear. Two instances seem to be particularly telling. (a) Bk. iii. 25 contains Eusebius' list of the acknowledged and disputed books of the New Testament. The twenty-seven Canonical and eleven Uncanonical Books mentioned by name in the Greek text re-appear

with the same titles and in the same classification in the Syriac, with one exception; *Θωμά καὶ Ματθία . . . εὐαγγέλια* = "Gospels . . . of Thomas or of Tolmai (Bartholomew?)." (b) Bk. iii. 39 (the account of Papias). Here also the Syriac text in the main confirms the Greek. The order of the names of the apostles (§ 4, Heinichen) on which Lightfoot founded an argument (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 192, 193) is the same in the Syriac as in the Greek. The general conclusion seems to be that our Greek text is good, and that the Syriac (with its daughter the Armenian) does little towards giving us a better text.

The heartiest thanks of scholars are due to Mr M<sup>c</sup>Lean for editing, revising, and giving to the world Prof. Wright's work on one of the most important of Christian authors, and also to the Cambridge University Press for their generosity in providing for the publication of this most interesting book in a form entirely worthy of it.

W. E. BARNES.

### **Einleitung in das Neue Testament.**

*Von Theodor Zahn. Erster Band. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897.*

*8vo, pp. viii. 489. Price, M.9.50.*

THEODORE ZAHN, formerly Extraordinary Professor in the University of Göttingen, and now Professor in the University of Erlangen, has gained for himself an illustrious name among living German theologians. He is a voluminous writer, and his writings are much esteemed in Germany for their erudition and exhaustiveness. His great work is *The History of the New Testament Canon*, which has engaged his attention for many years, and which may now be considered as the standard work on that important branch of Biblical criticism. Besides this may be mentioned his *Ignatius of Antioch*, a work of much learning, in which he takes a conservative view of the Epistles of Ignatius, somewhat similar to that taken by Bishop Lightfoot in his great work on the Apostolic Fathers. In his *Acta Johannis*, Zahn gathers together all the legends concerning the 'Beloved disciple.' Zahn's standpoint is that of positive theology; indeed he may be considered as the foremost supporter of that school. He is the opponent of the views of Harnack; those two distinguished theologians carry on a constant contest by means of pamphlets, articles or magazines, and other writings; they are the champions of opposite schools of theological thought, and are well matched, being nearly equal in point of erudition, theological research and natural abilities.

The work on which we propose to make a few remarks, *The*

*Introduction to the New Testament*, is Zahn's most recent writing, being published only last year. It is only the first volume of his Introduction; the second is promised this year. The contents of this volume are a dissertation on the language of Palestine in the lifetime of our Lord, an examination of the Epistle of St James, and a discussion of the thirteen Epistles of St Paul. Zahn adopts the traditional view, regarding all the Epistles of Paul, even the most disputed, as genuine. He treats of the books of the New Testament, not as arranged in our Bible, but in a chronological order, beginning with those which he considers were the first written, and in this arrangement he differs considerably from the usual views of exegetes. His mode of discussion is similar to that generally adopted by German professors. A paragraph is first given and discussed, and then learned notes and illustrations are annexed to it. These notes are most valuable and require careful perusal. It must be confessed that the German of Zahn is often very difficult. The sentences are long and involved, and the patience of the translator is often severely taxed.

This Introduction is one of great excellence, and will take its place among the best German Introductions of the New Testament, as those of Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Holtzmann and Weiss. It has the advantage in giving a positive view of the subject which is too frequently wanting in recent German introductions. Its chief value is its exhaustiveness. There is a minuteness and fulness in it which have seldom been equalled. All points bearing upon the subjects discussed, both the well known and the less known, are brought forward. But although the work is decidedly positive in its statements, yet there is nothing of the narrowness and one-sidedness with which works maintaining traditional views are sometimes accused of showing; it certainly cannot be regarded as belonging to the higher criticism; but difficulties are not evaded, and objections do not remain unanswered; there is a liberality of thought and an impartiality in the discussion of opposing opinions which is highly to be commended.

The work commences with a preliminary chapter on the language of Judæa in the time of our Lord. To this Zahn gives the somewhat ambiguous title "The Original Language of the Gospel: *Die Ursprache des Evangelium.*" The Gospel, he observes, is older than the New Testament. More than twenty years elapsed from the time when Jesus published the message of the kingdom of God before we have the first Christian writing, and perhaps seventy years before the last book of the New Testament appeared. Although few Palestinian writings of the first generation have survived, yet there are various indications which enable us to ascertain the language of Palestine when the gospel was promulgated.

This language, as Zahn asserts, was Syriac—the language in which Christ and His disciples taught the multitude. He uses the term Syriac instead of Aramaic, because he regards them as the same, the only difference being a variety of dialect. When Paul addressed the Jews he spoke in the Hebrew tongue, that is in Syriac. The old Hebrew was only retained by the Jewish Scribes and interpreters of the law, but was a dead language to the multitude. According to Zahn by the unlettered (*ἰδιῶται*) was meant those who were ignorant of the language of the Rabbins. The few words of our Lord which have been preserved are Syriac or Aramaic, thus intimating that this was the language in which He generally spoke, as Cephas, Boanerges, Ephphatha, and the exclamation on the cross, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani. So, also, Josephus, whilst he calls the Hebrew, that is the Syriac, his native tongue, speaks of Greek as a foreign language.

But whilst Zahn maintains that Syriac was the language spoken in the districts of Judæa and to a considerable extent in the cities, he dwells upon the wide diffusion of Greek, but does not think that it was so diffused as to constitute the nation bilingual. Greek was the result of the conquests of Alexander; Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to compel the Jews to speak Greek, just as the Russians attempted to force the Russian language upon Poland; Herod the Great was the great patron of Greek culture. There were numerous Greek cities throughout Palestine, especially in the south and south-east of the Sea of Galilee, called on that account “Galilee of the Gentiles.” “Macedonian cities,” says Zahn, “as Pella and Dion on the east of Jordan, remind us of the time of Alexander. Ptolemais on the sea and Philadelphia in the east testify by their names to the sovereignty of the Ptolemies”; and the cities founded by the Herodian family, as Sebaste in Samaria, Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, Cæsarea Philippi in Perea, and Cæsarea on the Mediterranean, are proofs of the rule of the Romans. But although Greek cities were scattered throughout Palestine and were partially colonised by Greeks and Romans, yet, as we learn from Josephus, in all of them there was a powerful body of Jews who retained their native language. Greek was to a certain extent adopted by the Jews as being the language of law courts, and must have been used in commercial transactions with foreigners. Still it must have made slow progress in Palestine, as is the case with the introduction of all foreign languages into a country.

Zahn has some instructive remarks on the education of the Apostle Paul. He supposes that Paul, being a Hebrew of the Hebrews, educated in a strict Pharisaic family, would in early life have had a purely Hebrew education. But after his conversion he spent about five years in his native city Tarsus. Here Zahn

supposes he embraced the opportunity of cultivating Greek literature. Tarsus was one of the most celebrated schools in the world, inferior only to Athens and Alexandria; and thus Paul, by his home and scholastic education at Tarsus, was qualified to preach the gospel both to the Jews and to the Gentiles. Zahn adopts the opinion that Paul was well acquainted with Greek literature. He quotes three if not four times from the Greek poets. In his address to the Athenians he gives an exact quotation from the Cilician poet Aratus and a probable allusion to the hymn of Cleanthes. He also quotes from Menander in 1 Cor. xv. 33, and from Epimenides in Titus i. 12. According to Zahn the Epistles of Paul are those of a highly-educated man: "In comparison with the Epistles of Paul as literary productions the fourth Gospel is monotonous and the Epistle of James is poor."

Zahn, following the chronological order in which the writings of the New Testament were written, discusses first of all the Epistle of James. This he considers the earliest writing of the New Testament, an opinion which is now generally admitted. But Zahn places it at a much earlier period than is generally allowed. There is not in the Epistle any mention or indication of Gentile Christians, nor the slightest allusion to the great controversy concerning circumcision, or to the question whether the Gentiles were obliged to observe the Mosaic law. "The complete silence," observes Zahn, "concerning the binding of the Mosaic law on all Christians, the laxity with which on the one hand the law is spoken of as a law of liberty and the mention of justification by works, is historically incomprehensible if the Epistle was composed after the time when Jewish Christianity sought to impose upon recently existing Gentile churches the observance of the Mosaic law as the means and condition of justification." He seems to suppose that James wrote his Epistle not only before the council of Jerusalem but before the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas. The Christian Church would then be almost entirely composed of converted Jews and Jewish proselytes. The churches which existed before the year 50 in the different districts of Palestine and Syria were colonies of the mother church at Jerusalem. Until the death of Stephen Christianity had almost its only abode in Jerusalem; the persecution of the year 35 drove them thence and scattered them beyond the boundaries of Palestine. Zahn supposes that the main object of James in his Epistle was to unite these Christian Jews who were scattered abroad into one church. Erdmann goes further, and supposes that the Epistle was written before the formation of the Gentile church in Antioch, when consequently all Christians would be either Jews or Jewish proselytes. Certainly in the Epistle there is no mention of or allusion to Gentile Christians.



This view of the early composition of the Epistle is very plausible. It is addressed to the twelve tribes—that is, to the Christian Jews who are scattered abroad. At the time when James wrote his Epistle the Christian Church would be almost exclusively composed of Jewish converts. The preaching to the Gentiles had just commenced; probably Paul and Barnabas had not set out on their first missionary tour; and perhaps the name Christian had not been coined to distinguish believers from Jews. Believers would still be regarded by the Gentiles as a Jewish sect, distinguished from their countrymen by their belief that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. In accordance with this, the doctrine and teaching of the Epistle is of the simplest nature, more nearly resembling “the Sermon on the Mount” than any other book of the New Testament.

It is impossible in a review to examine this book in detail: all that we can take up are its most salient points, especially those on which there is still a variety of opinions among critics, and on which Zahn differs from many of those belonging to his school, and which he discusses with remarkable force and ingenuity. There are three points to which we would allude—the country to which the Epistle to the Galatians is addressed, the correct title of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the heretics mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles.

Zahn, differing from most critics, removes the Epistle to the Galatians from continuity with the Epistle to the Romans, and considers it the first of Paul’s Epistles. This depends on the meaning to be attached to Galatia. There are two opinions. According to Zahn, what he calls the older or antiquated opinion, which is supported by Meyer and Lightfoot, and still defended by many learned writers, is that by Galatia is meant the districts around Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, which were colonised by the Gauls B.C. 300, and received from them the name of Galatia. Others understand a much wider district, the Roman province of Galatia comprehending not only Galatia proper, but Pisidia, Lycaonia, and a considerable part of Phrygia, being the kingdom of Amyntas, which was incorporated after his death into the Roman empire. This opinion, that the province of Galatia is intended, is not new, having been adopted by Böttger, Ulrich, Thiersch, and other critics, but had fallen into disrepute, and the opinion was generally adopted that Galatia meant the country in which the Gauls had settled. Now, however, the theory that what is meant is the Province of Galatia has been revived. It has been ably brought forward by Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen in his work, *Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, a work which has obtained for him a widespread reputation. This is the opinion which is now most generally adopted, and is em-



braced and maintained by Zahn with several highly plausible arguments.

Important consequences flow from this view, both as to the time of the introduction of Christianity into Galatia and as to the order of Paul's Epistles. If we take Galatia in the limited sense of the country occupied by the Gauls, then it was not until Paul's second missionary journey that the Gospel was there preached, and in the Acts there is only a short and cursory allusion to it (Acts xviii. 23). But if we adopt the view that by Galatia is meant the former kingdom of Amyntas, then converted into the Roman province, the four towns mentioned in the Acts, Antioch of Pisidia, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium were in Galatia, and consequently it was visited and evangelised by Paul on his first missionary journey, and before the council of Jerusalem. If this was the case, Timothy, Paul's favourite disciple, was a Galatean, and by his means constant communication would be kept up between Paul and the Galatian churches. We have also a detailed account of the founding of the Galatian Church instead of the incidental remark: "He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." Again, if by Galatia is meant the Roman province, this would alter the order of the Epistles of Paul. Formerly the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were considered the first of Paul's epistles that have come down to us; but if the province of Galatia is meant, there are conclusive reasons to cause us to infer that the Epistle to the Galatians takes the precedence in order of time. According to this view, the date of that Epistle has been assigned to the time when Paul, after preaching the gospel in Thessalonica and Athens, came down to Corinth, and during his early residence in that city.

Zahn mentions several remarkable coincidences between the Epistle to the Galatians and the preaching of the apostle during his first missionary journey in the cities of Lycaonia and Pisidia, as recorded in Acts. In the Epistle we are informed that when Paul came to Galatia he was accorded a warm welcome, and was received as an angel of God, yea, even as Jesus Christ (Gal. iv. 14); and this agrees with the account of his reception as recorded in the Acts, when the impulsive inhabitants of Lystra thought that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men, and would have done sacrifice to him (Acts xiv. 11, 13). In the Epistle Paul asserts that he bears about in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus (Gal. vi. 17), which is illustrated and confirmed by the persecution and sufferings which came unto him at Antioch, at Iconium, and at Lystra, especially at Lystra, where he was almost stoned to death; but the words receive a more striking additional illustration, if we adopt the opinion that the Epistle was written shortly after the

apostle came from Macedonia to Corinth. The scourging which he suffered at Philippi was then fresh, and when composing the Epistle he would actually be bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus. In the Epistle Barnabas is prominently brought forward as the fellow-labourer of the apostle; but it was during his first missionary journey that Barnabas accompanied Paul, whereas during his second missionary journey Silas was his companion. The prevalence of Judaizing views among the Galatians is accounted for by the numerous Jews found in Pisidian-Antioch and Iconium and by their opposition to Paul, as recorded in the Acts.

A second disputed point, in which Zahn differs from many eminent critics, is the correctness of the address of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The reading supported by the preponderance of authorities is that it is addressed to the Ephesians; but Zahn holds that it is a circular epistle addressed to a number of churches in Proconsular Asia, and that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are an interpolation. According to this view several copies were made, and were filled up with the names of different churches. The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are regarded as doubtful; they are wanting in the two oldest manuscripts, being written not in the text but on the margin. This opinion is adopted by Zahn and supported by several striking arguments of a subjective nature. According to him the circumstances of the church to which Paul wrote this Epistle are precisely the same as the circumstances of the church of Colosse, namely, that Paul had never visited it and was personally unacquainted with its members. He had merely a hearsay knowledge. "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and love to all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers" (Eph. i. 15, 16). And so likewise those to whom Paul wrote had only a hearsay knowledge of the gospel preached by him, but no actual experience of it. "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given to me to you-ward: how that by revelation he made known to me the mystery" (Eph. iii. 1-3). "If," says Zahn, "it is held that the destination of the Epistle is for the Church of Ephesus, we must conclude from Eph. i. 15, 16 and iii. 1-4 that Paul wrote the Epistle before he had come to Ephesus and before he had become personally acquainted with the church there. It must either be maintained in direct contradiction to the Acts of the Apostles that not Paul but John was the founder of the Church of Ephesus, or we must assume that Paul has written this Epistle before the time stated in Acts xviii. 18-20, which is incompatible both with the Acts of the Apostles and the contents of the Epistle." From all this Zahn infers that this Epistle was not directly addressed to the Ephesians, but was a circular epistle sent

to the churches of Proconsular Asia. Indeed Bleek goes the length of asserting that Ephesus was not one of the churches to which the circular epistle was directed, but that it was sent to those churches in the neighbourhood of Colosse and Laodicea, where the gospel had been shortly before introduced and where believers were personally unknown to the Apostle.

Another remarkable fact pointing in the same direction is that there are no personal references in the Epistle. According to the Acts Paul had remained for three and a half years in Ephesus and had preached the gospel with great success. He must, far from being personally unacquainted with the Ephesian Christians, have formed a close intimacy with them. And yet in the Epistle there are no personal salutations sent from any of Paul's friends, and no member of the Church of Ephesus is saluted; the Epistle bears the marks of being written to a church with which Paul had no personal relation. The only person mentioned is Tychicus, the messenger to the Church of Colosse, by whom the Epistle was transmitted, who was to carry information concerning the Apostle and to bring back information concerning the church addressed. "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, will make known to you all things" (Eph. vi. 21). The mission of Tychicus may refer to a circle of churches in the neighbourhood of Colosse. The Epistle to the Ephesians as it has come to us is precisely similar to the Epistle to the Colossians. There is only one point of difference, that in the Epistle to the Colossians Epaphras is mentioned as the founder of the Church of Colosse, whereas in the Epistle to the Ephesians there is no indication of the person by whom the gospel was introduced. But if the Epistle to the Ephesians is a circular epistle the reason of this omission is obvious, because each church in the circle may have had a different founder.

The arguments adduced by Zahn to prove that the Epistle was not directed to the Ephesians, but was a copy of a circular epistle, are very plausible and have much to recommend them. But notwithstanding there are strong objections against the adoption of this opinion. It rests entirely on internal considerations and is completely unsupported by external evidence. No manuscript has been found with a different address: no church except Ephesus is mentioned. To suppose an entire omission of the address leaving a blank space to be filled up would constitute this epistle not circular but catholic. Although the epistle is very general in its statements and is in a measure devoid of specialities, yet these are not wanting, and the absence of any personal references and salutations may be accounted for by the special mission of Tychicus.

A third point on which we would in conclusion make a very few

remarks is the character of the heretical tendencies mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles. A large, we might almost say a disproportionate, part of Zahn's work is devoted to a discussion of the Pastoral Epistles: it occupies nearly a hundred pages. The reason of this importance is that the Pastoral Epistles are most exposed to the attacks of hostile critics, and are undoubtedly beset with special difficulties. There is the difficulty of finding in the life of Paul a place for the incidents recorded in them. Zahn adopts the opinion of a second Roman imprisonment, and endeavours to trace the travels of the Apostle after his deliverance from captivity. He assumes the truth of his journey to Spain. Most of this rests on merely arbitrary suppositions and is perhaps too confidently affirmed. There are wanting in the writings of the Fathers sufficient data to go upon.

Zahn occupies much space in reference to the character of the heretics alluded to in the Pastoral Epistles. These, he affirms, are not, as is generally supposed, Gnostics, whether Jewish as represented by Cerinthus, or anti-Jewish as represented by Marcion; but Jewish Christians, not, however, precisely the same as those mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, who insisted on the necessity of circumcision, but similar to the Petrine faction mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, who taught a modified Judaism. Two sets of these heretics, according to Zahn, are mentioned, those who taught another doctrine *ἑτεροδιδασκαλῆν* (1 Tim. i. 3) and those who taught decidedly heretical opinions, as that the resurrection is past, and who by their false doctrine eat as a cancer into the essence of the Gospel (2 Tim. ii. 17). The first are to be censured and warned, whilst the second are to be excommunicated and vehemently condemned as overthrowing the foundation of the gospel.

Zahn maintains that in these epistles there is no reference to Episcopacy or to the threefold ministry—bishops, presbyters and deacons. There are only two orders, bishops and deacons. Episcopacy did not arise until after the apostolic age, though he admits that there are traces of it in the Apocalypse.

The great objection to the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles arises from their linguistic peculiarities. One cannot but discern that there is a great difference between the phraseology and diction of these epistles and that of Paul's other epistles. This objection Zahn meets by the remark that these epistles were the last of Paul's writings, and probably several years intervened between them and the other letters of Paul. According to Zahn there was a development in Paul's vocabulary. As he discussed new subjects, so he had to employ new words. There was no deterioration of style, but rather an improvement. But this is a subject which we cannot further pursue.

Zahn regards his *Einleitung* as a text-book; but if by this is meant that it contains elementary principles and facts, this certainly fails to represent its deep importance. It is a work of great erudition, and deserves to be regarded not merely as a text-book, but as an exhaustive Introduction to the New Testament: it should be translated and find a place on the shelf of every theological library.

PATON J. GLOAG.

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### **Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Genesis.* Von Lic. Dr H. Holzinger. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig, und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxx. 278. Price, M.6; to subscribers, M.4.50.

### **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Deuteronomium.* Von Lic. Dr Carl Steuernagel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, xlii. 130. Price, 3s. 4d.

THE reader will observe, that the *Kurzer Handkommentar* is not an abridgment of the *Handkommentar*—in the instances before us, the *Kurzer* is on the larger scale. Neither is connected with the *Kurzgefasstes Handbuch* or the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*.

Dr Holzinger's thorough and scholarly *Introduction to the Hexateuch* prepared the way for his *Genesis*, and the latter will not disappoint the expectations raised by the former. Those who possess Dillmann and Delitzsch will be glad to get later information in this compact and inexpensive form. The author makes full use of the discoveries and developments of Assyriology, Egyptology, and criticism in recent years. Moreover, every decade makes new revelations of what is involved in the results of such research. Most modern scholars are still unconsciously influenced by the standpoint and preconceptions of traditional criticism; but each fresh commentary shows, that the emancipation is becoming more and more complete. This is notably the case with Holzinger's *Genesis*. For instance, in spite of the analysis into separate sources, the old habit of interpreting one part of *Genesis* by another has persisted, even when the passages compared are from different sources. Thus Dillmann recognises that Gen. ix. 18-27 (Noah's drunkenness and the curse of Canaan) is not from either of the two sources, P and J<sup>2</sup>, from which chap. x. was compiled.

Yet his discussion of the meaning of Japheth in ix. 18-27 is controlled by its use in x. Holzinger, however, considers that "Was die Völkertafel unter Japhet aufzählt, is für diese Stelle wertlos," and is inclined to follow Budde in identifying the Japhet of ix. 18-27 with the Phoenicians.

But not only may the work before us supplement earlier commentaries, it is also complete in itself. The introduction, according to the plan of the series, is brief; but it is lucid, and, allowing for its brevity, exceedingly full. Some mention, however, should have been made of Mr Buchanan Gray's argument for a late date of P from an examination of Hebrew proper names. Dr Holzinger's position is substantially that of Wellhausen and Kuenen. We may mention his opinions on one or two points still under discussion amongst supporters of the Grafian theory. He assigns J<sup>1</sup> to the Southern Kingdom between 850 and about 700. As, with critics generally, he places E<sup>1</sup> before 722, and also places J<sup>1</sup> before E<sup>1</sup>, it seems as if his *terminus ad quem* for J<sup>1</sup> is a little too late. He holds that the Law of Holiness and P<sup>2</sup> had been combined before Ezra; and that the separate works J and E were known to the authors of Deuteronomy and P<sup>2</sup>. The introduction includes a very complete table of the analysis. Only a very few words are given to R<sup>D</sup>; even less than the four or five verses which Mr C. J. Ball in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ascribes to R<sup>D</sup>. As far as chap. xi. Holzinger and Ball are substantially agreed as to the passages taken from J<sup>1</sup>; but Holzinger ascribes chap. xxxviii. (the Judah-Tamar episode) to J<sup>1</sup>, and xlix. 2-27 (the Blessing of Jacob) is an ancient collection of proverbs included by J in his work; Ball, on the other hand, follows Kautzsch and Socin in ascribing chap. xxxviii. to J and xlix. 2-27 to J<sup>1</sup>. The analysis is further discussed in detail in the body of the book.

The notes on the interpretation, &c., of the text are clear, concise and adequate. Holzinger, however, follows the irritating and too prevalent fashion of giving a multiplicity of references of this type: "über Perf. in diesem Fall s. GES-KAUTZSCH<sup>26</sup>"; "*miqgedem im Osten* (GES-BUHL)." Why should our author imagine that no one will use his book except those who possess these admirable works? Is it wise to suggest that if you have a good Bible Dictionary, Introduction to the Old Testament, Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar you may dispense with any commentary? Most students would be better pleased if commentators would deal with the more exceptional points of grammar and philology, on the understanding that less important matters could be looked up in any standard grammar and lexicon. They would be looked up quite as often as these references will be.



We may mention our author's views on a few leading questions. P's account of the creation rests on earlier Jewish sources, which connected with the Babylonian cosmogony through Phoenicia. J's account is rather parallel to those dependent on Babylonian sources, and may connect with Damascus or the Arabian Mina. As to chap. xiv., Holzinger clearly regards the alleged monumental evidence of which we have heard so much as either irrelevant or based on misreadings. The chapter is late and unhistorical, though, perhaps, based on a narrative of E altered beyond all recognition. We may remind our readers that, according to Mr Pinches (*Expository Times*, May 1898), it is by no means certain that the tablet which Professor Sayce has made so much of as mentioning Chedorlaomer, Arioch and Tidal, does contain their names. Similarly, Father Scheil read a letter from Hammurabi (often identified with Amraphel) to Sinidina, king of Larsa, as mentioning Chedorlaomer, and referring to his wars; but as Mr C. J. Ball reads, the tablet does *not* contain the name of Chedorlaomer. (*Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, xx., 3 and 4.)

Holzinger holds that the Blessing of Jacob, both in its constituent elements and as a whole, belongs to the Southern Kingdom. It was compiled soon after B.C. 850, but separate sayings may be much older.

The commentary proper in Dr Steuernagel's Deuteronomy is admirable, considering its limited scale. Here and there, however, good use could have been made of a little extra space; for instance, in the Blessing of Moses, the LXX insertion of Simeon's name in the second part of the Reuben clause, xxxiii. 6, might have been mentioned; and on 17 a word or two might have been said about the *re'ēm*.

But this work is specially interesting as an exposition of and argument for the author's theory of the origin and composition of Deuteronomy, which he has already sought to establish in his two monographs, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums*, 1894, *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*, 1896. And the volume is the more important as these two treatises appeared too late to be used by Dr Driver in his *Deuteronomy*, and are merely mentioned in his *Introduction*. According to the plan of the *Handkommentar*, Steuernagel gives a new translation; and in this he indicates his analysis by eight kinds of type and two of brackets. His somewhat complicated theory is very lucidly expounded in the introduction; and much of the commentary is devoted to a justification of the detailed analysis. Before summarising Steuernagel's view, we may very briefly indicate the previous position of the criticism of Deuteronomy, omitting chaps. xxxi.-xxxiv., which are dealt with



in the criticism of the Hexateuch generally. All recognise that chaps. i.-xxx. contain Josiah's law-book,  $D^1$ , and redactional additions  $D^2$ , a formula which includes Steuernagel's position. Driver does not carry the analysis further, and, until xxvii. is reached, assigns little to  $D^2$ . Other critics' views are less simple; to take one of the more complex, Cornill's view is roughly as follows:— $D^1$  comprises only xii.-xxvi. 15 and xxxii. 45-47;  $D^h$  comprises i. 6—iv. 8, iv. 44, xxvii. 1-8;  $D^p$  comprises iv. 45—xi. 32, xxviii.-xxx., xxxi. 9-13; other sections of the book are later additions. Wellhausen's view is very similar. Such analysis used perpendicular divisions, as it were, and divides the book into compact and extensive blocks. Steuernagel's dividing lines are irregular and transverse; the older Deuteronomic work, iv. 44—xxx. 20, is interwoven throughout from various sources, after the manner of the composition of Genesis, Joshua, &c. The key to the sources is the use of the singular or the plural address; for instance x. 17, "For the Lord *your* God" is from one main source; and x. 21, "He is *thy* praise, and he is *thy* God" from the other.

The following is a rough outline of the theory. Steuernagel accepts the statement of 2 Kings xviii. 4 that Hezekiah attempted to concentrate the worship at Jerusalem; and holds that a code, *Grundsammlung*, supporting such a policy, was compiled soon after 722, possibly under the auspices of Hezekiah. At the beginning of Manasseh's reign, about 690, the *Grundsammlung* was combined with other material to form the document (Sg.) which regularly uses the singular address. A little later, about 670, a second edition of the *Grundsammlung* was combined with similar documents, and amplified by a writer using the plural address (Pl.). Unfortunately, as some of Pl.'s sources use the singular address, this feature is not an invariable test. About 650, Sg. and Pl. were combined by an editor  $D^r$ ; Manasseh's hostility to the teaching of the work prevented its publication, and led to its concealment in the Temple, where, in happier times, it was found by Hilkiah, and was adopted by Josiah as the programme of his reformation. (Sg. + Pl.)  $D^r$  = the ordinary  $D^1$ , and is so styled by Steuernagel. Before  $D^1$  was combined with JE, a pre-exilic Deuteronomist  $D^2$ , provided  $D^1$  with a historical framework. Then  $D^1$  (without  $D^2$ ) was combined with JE, forming JE +  $D^1$ , to which  $D^2$  was afterwards added. Last, later additions were made by Deuteromistic, (R.), and other editors. The Book of the Covenant was not known to Sg., Pl., or  $D^r$ , but is dependent on some of their sources. Pl. and  $D^r$  use E exclusively, E still being extant as a separate work. It is not clear whether Sg. uses E, J, or JE. Hence, apparently, the Book of the Covenant is not part of either J or E.

The Song of Moses is a composition of the time of the Second

Isaiah. The Blessing of Moses is a collection of sayings of the time of Jeroboam II., inserted in the middle of a post-exilic Psalm, xxxiii. 2-5, 26-29.

That the author of Deuteronomy used sources is fairly certain, and in many instances Steuernagel has probably succeeded in distinguishing various sections as from different sources; but we are not yet convinced, either by the general argument or by the detailed analysis as it appears in this commentary, of the truth of his main contention, that Josiah's law-book was interwoven from two sources. Our author is driven to make too constant a use of his redactors. For instance, in order to justify the statement that D<sup>1</sup> is not dependent on the Book of the Covenant, he maintains that the closer parallels with the latter in D<sup>1</sup> were inserted by a late editor. Again, the use of the characteristic Deuteronomic formulæ throughout the book is often cited as a evidence of literary unity. But, according to Steuernagel, these too are mostly due to editors and scribes, who had a special affection for Deuteronomic phrases. This latter view is certainly supported by the LXX, especially in Joshua.

Nevertheless, even if we cannot at once accept our author's analysis, we have to thank him for a most interesting and suggestive book, and for a very lucid exposition of an important problem.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### **Die Offenbarung Johannis.**

*Neubearbeitet von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, Professor in Göttingen.*  
*Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi.*  
*528. Price, M.8.*

A REMARK on the cover informs us that in this new edition of Meyer's Commentary five volumes have been completely rewritten, and the book before us is one of these. It is in every way a striking and remarkable production. There is no part of the New Testament which presents a more difficult problem to the commentator than the Apocalypse, and of late years it has gone through the crucible of the critics, who for the most part have left us nothing but *disjecta membra*; or, in other words, a number of Apocalypses, Jewish or Christian, which we are to believe have been fitted into each other, the lesser within the greater, like Chinese boxes. The great merit of Professor Bousset's Commentary is that, in the face of all these theories of compilation, he has emphasised the unity of style which characterises the whole work. Yet it cannot be denied that, in spite of clear marks of one ordering

hand, there are also visible traces of a variety of more or less ancient materials, which have been incorporated by the writer, and worked up into a literary whole. It is the correct analysis of these materials which forms the literary problem of the Apocalypse. Bousset does not bind himself to any theory, but inclines perhaps to those of Weizsäcker and Sabatier.

The scheme of the Commentary is most exhaustive. We have first an introduction of 208 pages arranged under the following seven heads: (1) the general character of Apocalyptic literature; (2) the place of the Apocalypse in the canon of the New Testament; (3) the author of the work, whom the writer takes to be John the Presbyter; (4) the history of its interpretation—this extends to some 90 pages and is divided under 20 sections, the last of which, the methods of literary criticism, will naturally attract most attention, summarising, as it does, the various analyses of the work which have been proposed by modern scholars; (5) methods of interpretation; (6) the criticism of the text; (7) the language and style.

Then follow the notes with a number of excursuses on special points. It is in these excursuses that the writer's special point of view comes out most prominently. Here, as also in his other work on *Antichrist*, he has been largely influenced by Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, and indeed the parallels adduced by the latter from the religious lore of the Babylonians are very interesting. It does not seem improbable that he is right in tracing the mystic significance of the seven stars and the twenty-four elders to early astronomical speculation. Astronomy and religion were at first inseparably connected. The seven heavens in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, with their New Testament parallels, were doubtless originally the divisions of the heavens marked out by the seven planets, and we see a trace of the ancient personification of the stars as angels, both in Rev. ix. 1, where the key of the bottomless pit is given to a star fallen from heaven, and also in S. James' designation of God as the Father of "lights," i.e., "the heavenly luminaries." Perhaps, too, the reference of the Woman and the Dragon in ch. xii. to an original Sunmyth, the birth of the Sungod, and the triumph of light over darkness, is correct. Such a myth is shown to be common to the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek religions, and may very well have been adopted by a Jew or a Christian, as symbolising the victory of Messiah over the powers of darkness. Vischer laid great stress on this chapter in support of his theory of a Jewish Apocalypse, and compared a late narrative in the Jerusalem Talmud which relates how Messiah was born in Bethlehem, but was caught up to heaven, while yet a child, by a whirlwind. This may simply be an invention of later times evolved

in the course of controversy with the Christians, and in any case it differs in some essential points from the narrative of ch. xii. where the child is born, not on earth, but in a heavenly region, and caught up, as soon as born, to the throne of God. Yet while Bousset's criticism of Vischer is here just, he fails to shake one's faith in the latter's general hypothesis that all the passages in which "the Lamb" is mentioned are Christian interpolations. It is impossible, however, to feel sure that Vischer is right in the exact limits of his scheme of interpolations. One feels especially doubtful in dealing with the last three chapters. Bousset has shown that at first the Jews looked only for a New Jerusalem, *i.e.*, a restored and enlarged earthly Jerusalem. It was not till after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus that they began to look for an entirely new heaven and earth, and for the descent upon earth of a heavenly Jerusalem. And one may plausibly conjecture that the Jewish Apocalypse, which underlies the work as we have it, ended up with a description, not of the heavenly Jerusalem, but of the New Jerusalem. May we not see a trace of this in xxi. 10 ff. "He showed me the holy city Jerusalem *coming down from God out of Heaven*." The italicised words may be a mere repetition from xxi. 2, and the seer may originally have simply seen a vision of the ideal Jerusalem in Heaven, just as Moses was supposed to have seen the ideal tabernacle in Heaven. The New Jerusalem would thus have been conceived of as an earthly copy of that heavenly ideal. I would also suggest that this vision of the New Jerusalem was originally connected with the coming of the Millennium, the world's Sabbath day; but that just as the New Jerusalem faded into the Heavenly Jerusalem, so the Millennium, and the Messianic Kingdom upon Earth faded into the vague and boundless perspective of the Kingdom of Heaven. This would account for the extraordinary brevity of the paragraph in ch. xx. about the Millennium. The ideal had moved forward: the Millennium had become, as Bousset calls it, a mere "Zwischenzeit."

But what was this Jewish Apocalypse which underlies our Apocalypse? According to Vischer it was not written by the author of the Epistles to the Churches, but that writer—S. John—incorporated it. So far, probably, Bousset agrees with him, though it seems to me it is quite possible S. John wrote it before he became a Christian. Polycrates of Ephesus says S. John was a priest and wore the *πέταλον*—which may be used loosely for the priest's turban, though it is strictly the plate on the high priest's turban. May not S. John have written the original Jewish Apocalypse in the year 69 A.D. when still a Jewish priest? The fulfilment of Christ's predictions in the fall of Jerusalem might very well have converted him to Christianity.

But Vischer not only denies the Johannine authorship; he holds also that S. John practically incorporated this Jewish Apocalypse without change, only interpolating the name of the Lamb and a few references to the Christian martyrs. Here Bousset, and I think rightly, differs from him. He urges the similarity of style which runs through the whole Apocalypse, as also the mere mechanical nature of the supposed compilation, so unworthy of one who could write the fourth Gospel. Further, he points out that the original Jewish Apocalypse could hardly have included the section of the seven vials, which is an artificial reduplication of the seven trumpets (see p. 463). Also, both the writer of this part of the Apocalypse and the author of the fourth book of the Sibylline oracles seem to have written after the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (see p. 475). Some time ago I read an article by Mr Theodore Bent, in which he most ingeniously connected the narrative of this part of the Apocalypse with certain old histories of the phenomena of volcanic eruptions, and the nature of the pain caused by the burning lava. This part of the Apocalypse may then, with considerable probability, be assigned to the Christian redactor, *i.e.*, to S. John.

The date of the Jewish Apocalypse is fixed by ch. xvii. 10, from which it appears that it must have been written in the time of Vespasian, c. 69 A.D. Even if verses 10, 11 were a later interpolation, it would still be clear that the interpolator, while inserting a *vaticinium post eventum*, adapted it to a writer who lived under Vespasian.

It further follows, from ch. xvii. 8, that this original Jewish Apocalypse was connected with the idea of "Nero redivivus." Bousset has, in a most interesting excursus, traced the gradual growth of this idea. The outcome of his investigation is that, in this original Apocalypse, Nero was not thought of as Antichrist, only as a Roman emperor in league with the Parthians for the overthrow of Rome. The Christian redactor advances a stage—Nero becomes Antichrist. By comparing the Sybilline books, it is shown that this change did not emerge in Apocalyptic literature earlier than about the end of the first century. Nero is now Antichrist, and, as such, in league with "the false prophet." One is "the beast from the sea," *i.e.*, from Rome; the other "the beast from the land," *i.e.*, from Palestine. To the mind of the Christian writer, the Jews and the Romans are leagued together against Christ. In what way these two enemies of Messiah were supposed to co-operate is a matter of conjecture; but, from the references to the worship of the image of the beast, one may suppose that the Jewish authorities—perhaps some one in particular, some false prophet—had advised Jews to tolerate the idolatrous worship of

the emperors. It may be that Professor Spitta is right in connecting the matter with the attempt of Caligula to set up his statue in the Temple. He supposes that we have in the Apocalypse a fragment of a Caligula-Apocalypse, in which it was prophesied that "the man of sin" would succeed where Caligula had failed. Bousset only gives a very hesitating assent to this theory. All that is certain is, that Nero came to be conceived of as Antichrist and in league with the Jews, as represented by some false prophet. It might almost seem possible that S. John's banishment was the penalty of his stern opposition to the cult of the Cæsars, which appears to have been specially popular in Asia Minor. Even if the refusal to burn incense before the emperor's image were only made penal throughout the empire in the time of Trajan, it is quite possible that local persecutions for this cause may have originated somewhat earlier. The net result of these considerations is, that our Christian Apocalypse is not, as Vischer and Harnack contend, merely the epistles to the Churches, together with a series of interpolations in which the name of the Lamb is mechanically introduced, but a much more integral part of the work, including the sections of the Seven Vials and the heavenly Jerusalem. The remainder is a Jewish Apocalypse, which probably pictured the overthrow of Rome by Nero redivivus and the Parthians; the supernatural birth of Messiah, and his reservation in heaven till the time came for him to appear in the clouds of heaven as the Son of Man, and reap the Vine of the Earth; the preaching, death and ascension of Moses and Elias, his two witnesses, and, finally, the coming of His Millennial Kingdom and the New Jerusalem.

Perhaps the chapter about the two witnesses, and other fragments, were taken from earlier Apocalypses. Bousset points out remarkable coincidences between the section about the two witnesses and the predictions of Christ about the fall of Jerusalem in S. Luke's gospel, as also between "the sign of the Son of Man," in S. Matthew's gospel, and Rev. i. 7. The study of Jewish Apocalyptic thus throws valuable sidelights upon the Apocalyptic portions of the gospels. Professor Bousset's work is worthy of the most careful study, and will doubtless meet with the appreciation which it deserves.

J. H. WILKINSON.



**Holl, Dr Karl, Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus.**

*Texte und Untersuchungen. Bd. xvi. Heft. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. Pp. xiii. 392. Price, M.12.*

THE sixteenth volume of *Texte und Untersuchungen* is also the first of a new series. This famous collection, which already contains so much of the greatest value, and not a little that is "epoch-making" in the literary history of the early church, commences a "Neue Folge," and to some extent enters a new field. It has been in a sense "established," and also, we venture to hope, "endowed." In Germany, if pure scholarship does not enjoy even such pecuniary rewards as fall to its share in this country, it frequently receives from the State, and from State institutions, such countenance and support as it would be vain to look for here. For many years past the Vienna Academy has been directing and supporting the publication of a definitive critical edition of the Latin Fathers. Now the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, not to be outdone by its southern rival, has undertaken a parallel scheme of equal importance, the publication of an edition of the ante-nicene Greek Fathers, edited in accordance with results of the latest researches. The work has been in hand for three or four years, and the fruits of it are now beginning to appear. The actual texts are heralded by the issue of Studies and Prolegomena representing the wide labours of each editor in the preparation of the text. We do not know what is to be the relation between the Academy and the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, but some or all of these preliminary studies are to appear in the "Neue Folge."

The editing of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus has fallen to Dr Holl, a Privatdocent in Berlin. And, as he says, he has found a literary problem sufficiently complicated. The *Sacra Parallela* (Greek text first published by Lequien in 1712) is a Florilegium of the seventh century, in which 323 different subjects, chiefly of ethical interest, are illustrated by quotations from Biblical and Patristic literature. The author explains in the prologue that he proposed to set various virtues and vices over against one another so as to throw light on the Commandments of God. He makes a kind of apology for including Philo and Josephus among the sources of his illustrations. The value of the "Parallels" lies, of course, in its usefulness in controlling, or in places supplementing, the text of those early writers from whom the quotations are made. But for that purpose it is necessary to ascertain the value, the history, and the original sources of the



*ἱερά* itself. This is the task which Dr Holl sets himself. It has been already partially attempted by Cohn and Loofs, and also by Mr Rendel Harris (*Fragments of Philo*, 1886). It is rendered exceedingly intricate by the divergence of the two chief authorities in regard to the arrangement of the contents, and the presence of yet a third line of authority which differs from both.

Dr Holl attacks his task with remarkable courage, and carries it out with equal patience. It will be sufficient here to indicate his results. Dividing his work into three sections, he seeks to establish the relation between the extant MSS., the authorship, and the sources from which the author probably drew. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to the first of these sections (*die Ueberlieferung des Werkes*). Having reduced the available authorities to three main streams, Dr Holl institutes an elaborate comparison of the chapters or *τίτλοι* and their contents as represented in each of the main recensions. His conclusion is the disappointing one that, in spite of the considerable number of MSS., we have only one which does not represent a derived, and to some extent manipulated, recension. From the quotations, and especially from those in the second and third books, much has been wholly lost, and that probably includes what would have been most interesting to us (p. 255). For all our three authorities agreed in this, that they omitted passages out of older and less known Fathers in favour of others drawn from less famous teachers. The text is also in a bad state. The very variety of styles with which the copyist had to deal removed one of the safeguards of accuracy.

With regard to the authorship, Dr Holl has arrived at a more positive result. The MSS. with one accord ascribe the work to John of Damascus, and the external evidence, though it is but scanty, goes to confirm the statement. After a careful examination of the objections, particularly of those observed and adduced by Loofs, Holl comes to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for doubting the traditional authorship.

Less satisfactory, however, is the result of his inquiry into the sources from which John drew his quotations. He finds these not only in the works of the Fathers themselves, but also to a considerable extent in similar collections of extracts anterior to John, and notably in the *κεφάλαια θεολογικά* of Maximus Confessor and the *Pandekts* of Antonius. "For the purpose for which the whole investigation has been undertaken, the demonstration of the sources from which John drew, and the general perspective which is thereby opened, present a far from encouraging result. It is obvious how the value of the work is infringed, if the Damascene did not take his quotations from the writers themselves." We cannot but condole with Dr Holl in so far as the

thoroughness of his work here may have reduced the value of the text he is editing. Nevertheless, he is persuaded of the value of what remains. "The learning of Maximus and of John was almost unique. Deducting from the *icpà* all that coincides with Maximus, there still remains material so great that John could not have collected it unless he had taken almost the whole field of ecclesiastical literature for his study."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### **Gereformeerde Dogmatiek.**

*Door Dr H. Bavinck. Eerste Deel. Inleiding—Principia (1895). Tweede Deel (1897). Kampen: J. H. Bos; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price, 1st Vol., 10s.; 2nd Vol., 10s. 6d., bound.*

### **Beginselen der Psychologie.**

*Door Dr H. Bavinck. Kampen: J. H. Bos.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, 3s. 3d. unbound.*

It is a pleasure, at a time when theology is somewhat out of fashion, and the very conditions which render it possible seem to many fast passing away, to call attention to a dogmatic work at once so massive, so comprehensive, and so scholarly as this of Professor Bavinck's. It is a work which takes us back in spirit to the best days of the Dutch theology, and compels the acknowledgment that the cunning has not departed from the hand of the descendants of the system-builders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The appearance of such a work is itself significant. Theology can only rear itself on a basis of faith, and wherever faith revives in a church or nation, a theology of some kind is not long in shaping itself. The movement which has given birth in Holland to a free, believing church, adhering to the old Confessions, in separation from the State, has not only proved a powerful force in resisting and overcoming the rationalism that prevailed, but has shown its abounding vitality in creative effort in a variety of directions. It has given an impulse to education, and in this work by Professor Bavinck, one of its ablest representatives, has demonstrated in a pre-eminent degree its alliance with philosophical and theological culture. Regarding the author we only note that he is Professor of Dogmatics and Encyclopædia in the Theological School of the Reformed Churches of Holland in Kampen—an institution possessing five professors in all. The name *Gereformeerde Kerken* (Reformed Churches) distinguishes the free Evangelical body, to which

the school belongs, from the Established Church, which is called *Hervormde Kerk*. The Dutch have these two words (*Hervormd* and *Gereformeerd*) for Reformed, and while the Established Church claims the one, the non-established body takes the other.

The *magnum opus* which Professor Bavinck is in process of producing is on a scale worthy of the theological masters of a past age. The first volume, which appeared in 1895 (532 pp.), dealt, after an Introduction, solely with the Principles of Dogmatics (*External*—Revelation embodied in Holy Scripture; and *Internal*—Faith), and the second and newly-published volume (571 pp.) gets only as far as the Doctrines of God and of the World in its Original State. A third volume will treat of the World in its Fallen State, of Christ and His Work, and of the Way of Salvation, and even this, we presume, will not complete the undertaking. With such a programme, it need not be said that the work is remarkably thorough and exhaustive; it is also rigorously Scriptural in its basis. But what will strike a reader even more—it exhibits a range of knowledge of the history of dogmatic thought and literature, patristic, mediæval, modern (including English and Scotch), as minute as it is surprising and accurate. This learning is utilised by the author in subserviency to his purpose, yet without injury to the clearness of his own expositions. Neither does Professor Bavinck attempt the impossible task of separating theology from a sound psychology and philosophy. His little work on the Principles of Psychology shows his whereabouts in this department, but the larger treatise also embraces the careful discussion of philosophical principles. Instead of delaying further on generals, we shall best consult the reader's convenience by offering, without criticism, a brief summary of the author's line of treatment as nearly as possible in his own words.

In the Preface to the first volume the author indicates the general standpoint of his dogmatic theology. Not only the ordinary member of the Church, but also, and much more, the student of theology, especially of dogmatics, has to make Confession of the Communion of Saints. Only "with all saints" will he be able to comprehend what is the breadth and length, and depth and height, of the love of Christ. Therefore he must always remember—here we would draw attention to the pleasing note of Catholicity in the theologian of a communion frequently blamed for exclusiveness—that such men as Irenæus, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, do not belong to one age or denomination, but to the whole Church. The author avows his desire to profit from the Christian theology of all Churches and of all ages. He believes, at the same time, that while the Reformed doctrine is not *the only true*, it is *the most pure* exhibition of the Scriptural truth, and that its purest period was in

the time of its first development after the Reformation till the Synod of Dordrecht and the Assembly of Westminster. Since in our own days we have lost in large measure, through the influence of false philosophies (Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, &c.), sound theological principles, it is necessary, in his conviction, to go back, not to Hegel or Kant, but to the great and pious scientific theologians of earlier times. This, however, does not mean that we have only to reproduce the old doctrine; on the contrary, we must raise the old theology by earnest and solid thinking to the level of our own times, and give essentially the same truth in the form and mould of our modern age. The author agrees, therefore, with those who give a large place to the history of dogmatic theology (i., pp. 51-140). Thereafter he expounds the principles in science and religion by which he is guided. In the theory of knowledge, he rejects the rationalism (idealism) of Kant and Hegel (i., p. 145), and the empiricism (positivism) of Comte and others (i., p. 151), and professes his adherence to the old realism, as that which discovers in phenomena the noumena, the ideas of the Logos, and ascends to the knowledge of God (i., p. 157). In religion he distinguishes between the "religio objectiva" and the "religio subjectiva," the former denoting the whole service which God asks from man, the latter the habit of man's mind and heart (generated in creation, degenerated by sin, regenerated by the Holy Spirit), disposing him to walk in the way of God's commandments (i., p. 171). Religion, it is held, embraces man entirely, not only mind or heart, but man in all his faculties of soul and body (i., p. 183). This leads to the consideration of revelation and inspiration. Religion has its origin in revelation—not, however, in a revelation that is mechanical, but which is one with God's making of man after His image and likeness (i., pp. 202, &c.). Revelation, further, does not consist only in words or doctrines, but also in facts; it is an organic system of all God's acts, to restore and regenerate the whole fallen creation. It began with creation: it proceeded in modified form after the fall (*revelatio specialis*); it has its centre in Christ; it develops its power by the Holy Spirit in illumination and regeneration; and it reaches its end in the "*consummatio seculi*" (i., pp. 215-95). In this revelation the inspiration of Holy Scripture forms an organic element. Inspiration is neither mechanical, nor ethical (only), nor dynamical, but organic, so that the Holy Spirit uses the whole personality of the sacred writers, with all their qualities, faculties, and abilities (i., pp. 295-415). And the product of that inspiration, the Holy Scripture, becomes an authority for us, neither by historical and critical arguments, nor in a speculative or psychological way (as in the school of Ritschl, *e.g.* by an impression of the image of Christ), but by faith in the Scriptural sense of that word, by the "testi-

monium spiritus sancti." Then we receive the firm conviction that this book is the Word of God, that we may trust it in life and death; we are bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, but to Christ, as Calvin says, "in vestitu scripturæ."

In the second volume, which opens the material part of dogmatics, the author begins with the knowledge of God. He lays stress on the fact that the science is called *theology*. He cannot, therefore, accept the Christological method. Christ is assuredly the Mediator between God and man. His cross is the centre of theology. We cannot have any true knowledge of the Father except by the Son. Nevertheless it is the knowledge of God that forms the *materia* of dogmatic theology (John xvii. 3). Just because Christ is the Mediator of God and man, the centre of theology, he cannot be the starting-point. All things, the person and work of Christ included, are from, and through, and to God. It may be remarked that there does not seem to be much serious difference in principle between Professor Bavinck and those whose theology he describes as Christological. In the logical order the doctrine of God must necessarily come first. But the source of that knowledge is declared to be supremely in Christ. From faith in Him, accordingly, and with acceptance of His revelation, Christian theology must start. It will also, on Professor Bavinck's own showing, be "Christocentric," and this, we imagine, is nearly all that is contended for by Christological theologians. The first part of dogmatics, viz. theology, receives, therefore, a very large place in our author's treatment. In the first chapter (ii., pp. 1-24) he vindicates the possibility and reality of the knowledge of God against agnosticism. Thereafter he makes a distinction between the "theologia insita" and "acquisita" (ii., pp. 24-62). He there comprises all knowledge of God in the "Name" of God (ii., pp. 63-102), dividing the names into proper names (El, JHVH, &c.), essential names (idiomata, proprietates, &c.), and personal (Trinitarian) names. Next follows a discussion of the counsel of God (decretum), and here the author endeavours to conceive this counsel as an organic system of decrees, which embraces all things, and unfolds itself in the history of the world and mankind. Predestination, therefore, is not the one and whole decree of God, but only one of the decrees. The supralapsarian and the infralapsarian view are both one-sided; predestination must be conceived as a link in the chain. Chapter v. treats of the world in its original state (status integritatis)—not only man, but the whole cosmos, wherein angels, men, animals, have each their place—but man alone is the *image* of God. We need not enter into details.

The smaller work on the Principles of Psychology may be

regarded as a more special exposition of the doctrine of man than could find place in the second volume of the dogmatics. It is therefore published separately. The method followed is the same as in the larger treatise. The author goes back to the older Christian psychology of Augustine Thomas and of the reformed theologians and philosophers, but seeks to combine this with the best results of the new psychology of our age. He cannot, however, accept this new psychology in its essential principles. They undermine, he thinks, psychology itself. He cannot approve of the "Psychologie ohne Seele," and the experimental method, and maintains the substance of the soul, and the necessity of both the deductive and the inductive methods. He specially rejects the three faculties of the soul, and acknowledges only the two faculties *cognoscendi* and *appetendi*, in the same manner as Professor Shedd in his "Dogmatic Theology." The acuteness of the author's exposition is unquestioned, but there are points here on which he may fail to carry conviction. The above survey may at least afford a general idea of the character and contents of the important books of a very able theologian.

JAMES ORR.

### **Über das betende Ich in den Psalmen.**

*Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters, von Dr Felix Coblenz. Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 190.*

### **Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias.**

*In ihrem Verhältniss dargestellt von Paul Volz. Göttingen: Vandenhöck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 92. M.2.80.*

### **Isaiah, a Study of Chapters I.-XII.**

*By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston and New York: Thomas T. Crowell & Company, 1897. Pp. 263.*

Few exegetical questions are more interesting than that of the meaning of "I" and "me" in the Psalter. The theory that the speaker is the community or church-nation has been much discussed in recent years, and has made a curious cleavage among the critics. From Dr Coblenz's interesting preface we learn that the theory has been accepted by Olshausen, Reuss, Smend, Baetgen, and on the whole by Cheyne. To a certain extent it has commended itself to



W. R. Smith and Driver. Opposed to it more or less strongly we find Hupfeld, Ewald, Kuenen (decidedly), Nowack, and Budde. Dr Coblenz makes an analysis of all the "I" psalms with a view to settling this question. There is nothing novel in his arguments, but it is an advantage to have such a clear survey of the whole ground. He writes forcibly, and his analysis of the spiritual contents of the psalms is characterised by fine feeling. He reaches the conclusion that in 40 of the "I" psalms the speaker is the personified community as a whole; in 6 the individual members of the community are regarded as the speaker; in 21 the community of the pious—the true Israel as opposed to the ungodly—speaks; in 10 the individual members of the pious community is the subject; in 18 the poet himself speaks; and in 2 a king is introduced as the speaker. Briefly stated, the writer's main arguments, often repeated, are these: (1) The words 'poor,' 'meek,' 'afflicted' had a recognised application to the oppressed community. (2) Collective Israel is often personified by the prophets. (3) The frequent complaints against ungodly persecutors appear to indicate that the speaker is collective. (4) The imprecations of certain psalms are thought to be less objectionable if they are the utterances of a community. (5) The ordinary view is distasteful, because "it is improbable that the common consciousness of the Jews borrowed so much from religious individualism" (Smend).

We are still of opinion that as regards the great majority of the psalms the collective theory has not been established. It does not account for the facts. We may refer to the following points:—(1) If the community, as a whole, or the community of the faithful, ever regarded itself as the subject of those "I" psalms, it is strange that it so soon became quite oblivious of the fact, as the titles of many of the psalms indicate. (2) To deny that an individual could speak of God as 'my king,' 'my redeemer,' 'my shepherd' (Pss. v., xix, xxiii.) because in the prophets Jahwe is regarded only as the king, redeemer, and shepherd of Israel, is to make a precarious inference from one kind of composition to an altogether different kind. When Job says 'I know that my redeemer liveth,' he surely speaks for himself. (3) To explain Pss. xvi. 9-11, xvii. 15, xxiii. 6, and others as intimations of nothing more than national immortality is to do violence to language. (4) Such expressions as 'Oh that I had wings like a dove,' 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,' 'Into thy hand I commend my spirit,' and many more, when referred to the community, as by this writer, suggest ideas not easy to realise. (5) It seems most improbable that the writer of lyrics so fresh and inspired as many of the psalms in question are, should compose "with the community in his eye as the praying subject" (138.) The psalmist is, of course, a



member of the true community, and his words are fitted to express the faith of the whole Church ; but in the first place it is his own faith. Smend's "religious individualism" is a bugbear which need not alarm anyone. All religious feeling is, in the first instance, individual. The analogy of hymnology must count for something. The psalmist who wrote "He leadeth me beside still waters" spoke for himself as much as the poet who wrote "Lead thou me on." In neither case is the speaker a personified community, though of course the fitting word finds entrance into the common heart. (6) The attempt to explain the bodily sufferings often alluded to in the psalms as figures of persecution creates difficulties greater than those which surround the natural explanation.

We do not doubt that a number of psalms were composed expressly for the temple service. The liturgical tone is sometimes apparent, and the blessings desired are for the Church or people as a whole. But even in those cases it would be a mistake to suppose that either to the psalmist or the singers "I" just meant the community. There was more in it than that. Was it not a true inspiration which led the temple-psalmist to model his work upon the old individual psalms, and thereby bring home to each worshipper that sense of his personal share in the blessings of the true community which must always be the supreme joy of worship?

We used to think the Prophet beyond the reach of criticism. "Others abide our question, thou art free." But it is evident that the turn of prophecy has come. Paul Volz's monograph on the Messianic hope is a plea for radical changes. We are asked to revise all our ideas of the text and doctrine of the prophetic books. This critic's view is that "in the genuine prophetic writings from Amos to Ezekiel no Messianic idea is to be found." He agrees with Duhm, Cornill, Smend, and others in denying to Amos the fine closing passage (ix. 8-15), and figures him simply as "a prophet of judgment, hard as iron" (17). He finds that the Messianic verses under the name of Hosea (xi. 8-11, xiv. 2-9) are additions by a later hand. Hosea foresaw nothing but national ruin, regarded the monarchy as the cancer of Israel, and based no hope on anything regal or Messianic. "He stands before us like Amos as an inexorable messenger of judgment." Canon Cheyne recently questioned Isaiah's authorship of the classical Messianic texts, Isa. iv. 2-4, ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9. Volz goes, if possible, farther ; he is assured that "the original writing of Isaiah contains no Messianic prophecy." This prophet's hope for the future of Israel is quite different from the Messianic idea, which "stands in opposition to his religious and ethical conceptions." Once called evangelical, he was really another *Strafprediger* (41). The beautiful passages in Micah and Zephaniah which give promise

of restoration (Mic. v. 1-4 ; Zeph. iii. 8-20) are not genuine. Last comes Jeremiah. What interest could he, the foe of worldly patriotism, the prophet of individualism, have in a restoration to regal splendour ? The Messianic passages, xxiii. 5-8, xxx. 9, xxxiii. 14-26, are not his. Thus one after another the purple patches are all removed and the Prophet's mantle restored to its original gray. Ezekiel, we are told, was the first true prophet to voice the Messianic hope, and even in his case it was not an original inspiration, but rather a popular idea which he imbibed in his youth and could not help using (87).

Volz does not build quite so much on the argument from language and style as some critics do. Yet he appears to put more on it than it will bear. It is easy to say that a word, phrase, or idea in a certain passage is only found again in late writings. That may prove nothing. With our scanty knowledge of the spoken language it is impossible to date the birth of every phrase and idea. Hos. ii. 22 and x. 13 are regarded as insertions because *אֶמְנָה* and *יָשַׁע* are said to be late. Yet both words occur in 1 Sam.

It will be seen that Volz's conception of the Messianic hope is peculiar. He holds (1) that it is essentially a political not a religious idea, (2) that it is quite foreign to the character and aims of pre-exilic prophecy, and (3) that it did not originate among the prophets of Jahwe at all, but among the worldly patriots who surrounded the court of Josiah. He contends that the historical situation in which the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries found themselves did not permit their publication of such a hope. It was the business of the false prophets to prophesy good things. True prophetism, being not the comforter but the living conscience of the nation, could only predict national ruin. It would have been unwise and unpractical to excite monarchical dreams at such a time. The idea of Israel's restoration and Messianic glory arose later ; it was the offspring of religious particularism, not of the universalism of the true prophets.

These opinions would need to be closely scrutinised. Does not the critic fail to understand the doctrine in question ? He says "the Messianic faith in spite of all religious admixture has always a political kernel." We hold just the converse—that in spite of all political admixture it has always a religious kernel. Of course the doctrine was apt to be misconceived, and as a matter of fact no doctrine was ever more misrepresented. But Volz mistakes the caricature of the Messiah for the portrait. The substance of the Messianic hope was that God would always be in covenant relation with his people, and would manifest Himself in the latter day for their salvation. After this critic has stripped the prophets of all that seems to favour his narrow conception of the hope, there are left

many passages and some whole chapters (*e.g.*, Jer. xxx.-xxxiii.) which contain all that is essential to the true conception. The idea of Restoration seems always to be deduced in prophecy from the Messianic Hope, and we see no good reason for severing them. The probability is that they were always connected. There must have been some idealism in Israel even before the exile, and the person and office most certain to be idealised were the theocratic king and kingship (Ps. xviii.). The Messianic hope was much more closely related to the religious universalism of the prophets than the particularism of the masses. The spiritual blessings expected (Ps. lxxii.) could not be confined to Israel. Volz illustrates his theory by saying that "the worldly patriots of Israel longed for a second David as our people have wished back their Barbarossa that they might establish the nation again with blood and iron." But the true patriots were not Teutons. Their Messiah was not a Bismarck.

Professor Mitchell's Study of Isaiah i.-xii. is a very serviceable student's commentary. The writer thinks that "the style of most commentaries confuses the reader." He therefore undertakes "to present his interpretation in the form of a continuous discussion." It is rare indeed to see the results of the most recent scholarship put into the form of a running commentary of the good old style. The danger of this kind of commentary is that the writer may get into the habit of saying something about every word and explaining what is already plain. Professor Mitchell does not quite escape that danger. At ch. iii. 24, 25, the remarks that *perfume* means 'spices and their odours,' and *thy men* 'adult males,' may be superfluous. But these things are rare, and it will not be denied that the combination of text and commentary carries the reader along more smoothly than the usual system of footnotes, which Professor Mitchell uses only for the discussion of minor textual matters. His work gives in a very attractive form all that most students would want to know. The exposition of such a difficult passage as "A virgin shall conceive" is admirable. He counts iv. 2-4, ix. 1-7 Isaianic, but thinks xi. 10-16 and xii. post-exilic. The commentary is preceded by a spirited translation; but in the great passage ix. 6 "booty-taker" instead of "Everlasting Father" (אֱלֹהֵינוּ) is a quite unnecessary bathos.

J. STRACHAN.

**Studies in Philosophical Criticism and Construction.**

*By Sydney Herbert Mellone, M.A. Lond., D.Sc. Edin. Edinburgh:*  
*William Blackwood & Sons. Post 8vo, pp. xxii. 264. Price,*  
*10s. 6d. net.*

THE work before us is one of the most significant and instructive which have issued from the press for many a day. We began to read the book without any great expectation as we were not attracted by the title, and had never heard of the writer. But we had not read many pages when we found ourselves in the grasp of a master who, to original gifts of reflection had added a thorough knowledge of philosophy in its past history and in its present bearings. No one who has read a little of the literature of philosophy can doubt that in this book we mark the advent of a man destined to have a decisive influence on the philosophic thought of our time. He has all the notes of a philosopher, he thinks clearly, and he thinks things together, he writes with lucidity and discrimination, he has a unique power of classification, and can give in a few terse sentences the main views which have been held on any philosophic topic, and he can state in precise terms the main problems which are set to philosophy at the present hour, and indicate the lines of their likely solution. Such are the conclusions which a perusal of the book has enabled us to draw regarding the qualifications of the author.

In writing a short notice of the book we feel at a great loss. Any one of the questions he deals with might give occasion to a notice which would exhaust the space at our disposal. What can we do with a book that leaves untouched no burning question in logic, psychology, or ethics? In addition to a thorough discussion of these particular problems, he endeavours to mark out the province assigned to each of these and to describe the relations of all the sciences to metaphysic. It is evident that a review of the book is not possible, and adequate criticism out of the question. We may, however, describe the book and indicate its procedure. His starting point is in the thesis that philosophy is the synthesis of Science and Religion, and from this point of view he sets forth the past and present aspects of these great movements of human thought and life. So far his work is introductory, but even the introductory work is sufficient to establish him in the confidence of the reader. The nature and aim of philosophy is the next theme, and under this head we have a clear and fit description of the three great divisions of philosophy, psychology, epistemology, and ontology, in their special nature and province, and also in their interrelations. This chapter is both critical and constructive. The subject of psychology is the description and explanation of con-

scious states as such, the subject of epistemology is the structure of knowledge ; and then comes the problem of the reference to self and to an objective world and the recognition of these references by psychology and epistemology. This leads on to a provisional statement of the problem of ontology. Whoso masters this chapter will have a firm grasp of the main philosophical problems of the hour, and be prepared for the harder task of following the author into more intricate problems still. An appendix to this chapter deals with the theory of "Monism." An able and masterly criticism. The next chapter deals with the distinction of individual and universal judgments. What is the nature of judgment? In answer the traditional theories of the nature of judgment are reviewed, the nominalist view brought to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and it is shown that the conceptualist view ignores the objective reference which can be traced in every cosmological judgment. When the objective reference is recognised, the true problem is before us. A profound discussion follows on the nature of the immediate subject, the meaning of individuality, the significance of identity, and the bearing of these on the truth and worth of individual and universal judgments. The result is to enable us to obtain a fuller view and definition of individuality ; and, finally, leads to the conclusion, that thought is not merely formal, but that it has an organic structure, one of whose roots is the real principle of identity. An appendix follows "on Kant's view of the relation of Sense and Thought."

The general nature of consciousness is the next theme. In dealing with it the author points out that the general nature of consciousness is determined by its necessary relation to an environment. "Any and every consciousness exists only in relation to an environment. This remains always true, though the portion of the environment which is presented to consciousness is susceptible of expansion and contraction to an indefinitely great extent,—from the merely physical, through the social, up to the ideal environment in which ideal truth and goodness are realised in consciousness. In this relation, to a surrounding world of some kind, to some extent, are plainly involved at least two functions—a receptive and a reactive. If the terms could be kept clear of mechanical implications, we might say that the rule of the relation is—give and take, action and reaction, impression and expression or response." This leads to the threefold analysis of consciousness, and to the relation between its three factors—intellection, feeling, and conation. A description of the characteristics of these follows, and also of the typical form of the psychologically complete function. The statement of his own view is further elucidated and defended in relation to opposing views, which are criticised. An appendix on some

problems in the psychology of feeling follows, and well deserves attentive study.

These chapters prepare the way for the admirable discussion on the nature of self-knowledge. This is the philosophical problem of the time, widely discussed, and attacked from various sides by the foremost writers of the day. While we regard with much admiration the work of Mr Mellone in this section, we wish he had discussed it at further length and with more detail. Apparently he has felt that the discussion has grown under his hands, and he has condensed his argument until it has become obscure. As it is the most important and also the culminating part of his argument, we wish that he had set it forth with greater adequacy. The appendix on Biological Theories of Evolution is one of the most competent as well as the most drastic we know on the subject. He shows with great clearness and power the onesidedness and other defects of Natural Selection.

The last two chapters deal with Ethics. One deals with the method of ethics, and the other with the postulates of ideal ethics. In the former the main inquiry is concerned with the ultimate end or good. We shall let the author state his own position. "We started with the assumption that there is a supreme ideal, which we found must be an Ideal of Personal life. We were led to reject two theoretical views of its nature, and neither of which, when carried out systematically, had sufficient coherence to maintain itself. Falling back, therefore, on the development of personality as a whole, we found three separate ends which are capable of being pursued independently of one another to a certain extent, but which seemed to have equally just claims to enter into the ideal. What, then, is the ground of their joint claim to constitute it? As regards this question, we have, through the greater part of the preceding discussion, adopted a point of view which may be called that of a higher form of Intuitionism: instinctively we know that in the progressive attainment of Truth, Beauty, and Righteousness, we are realising the highest capacities of our nature, in whose service all other springs of action should be co-ordinated, and that these are the aims which give to life all its worth. Now, it may prove that there is a sense in which an intuitionism of this kind is the last word of Ethics; but we must push the question further before we can rest in such a conclusion. More than once we have been led to go beyond this point of view. We have pointed out how in realising these highest aims the individual is carried beyond himself: his life, without ceasing to be his own, without being lost in something impersonal, begins to be brought into deeper harmony with other lives. This has appeared most clearly in the Intellectual and Moral Ideals; and it brings us to the question, Is this self-



transcending character of the Good the real ground of its obligation upon us? The problems here suggested are those that lead from Ethics into Metaphysics: but at this transition we must close our present inquiry."

We earnestly hope that the author will continue to prosecute these studies, for which he has shown such remarkable aptitude, and that his next book will take up the inquiry where this has laid it down, and carry the inquiry into larger issues still. Meanwhile all students will thank him for this worthy study of those questions which are always with us, and to which every generation must find an answer of some kind.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Untersuchungen zur Phänomenologie und Ontologie des menschlichen Geistes.**

*Von Dr G. Class, ord. Professor in Erlangen. Leipzig: Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 238. Price, M.4.*

A BRIEF introductory notice refers us to an earlier work by Dr Class, and points out the difference in aim and method between it and the present work. In the former work (*Ideale und Güter*), the discussion moved in the region to which the kritik of practical reason properly belongs. It was, in the words of Kant, a Transcendental investigation. The present work is an enquiry into the nature of reality. The two books supplement one another.

The introduction deals with the meaning of the words "Soul and Spirit," and their significance to the scientific consciousness of to-day. It is an interesting and significant discussion. Not only does it cast light on the particular matter in hand, it has, also, an independent historical and philosophical value in relation to the progress of human life and thought. One way of measuring the progress of thought is to ascertain the difference in contents of terms as used in a former generation and as used now. In the hands of Dr Class, the inquiry into the meaning of the words "Soul and Spirit" becomes a description of the difference between the thought and life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This difference is happily seized and graphically set forth. The nineteenth century has gained something, but it has also lost something. It has a more vivid conception of the solidarity of man, but not so vivid of the great doctrines of freedom and immortality, and of the value of the individual man, as that which obtained in the eighteenth century. Incidentally, Dr Class gives us luminous views of the sciences, and of the relations between the



physical sciences on the one hand, and ethics and religion on the other. He helps us to obtain an answer to questions which ever press on man and are as old as philosophy itself. What view are we to take of the spirit and soul of man? Are they to be looked at as two elements, or as two forms of the same element? This is the topic discussed in the first chapter of the book. The second chapter deals with the ontological aspects of the phenomena discussed and investigated in the first chapter. In the exposition of the phenomena, the author disclaims intention of discussing every question which may present itself, and though he does not expound a system of philosophy, he yet tells us that a definite system lies at the foundation of it. What his system is he does not say in this book, nor shall we inquire. We have found it to be sufficiently intelligible.

As a matter of fact, man is seen to be a twofold being; he is a being living in a body, yet also possessed of a spiritual nature. To describe fully his bodily nature needs the help of many sciences, such as anatomy, physiology, and such like. These and their results are not excluded in an inquiry like the present one. While admitting the high value of these sciences, Dr Class is careful to point out that it is impossible to explain the nature of man from the standpoint of those sciences which deal with the body of man alone. This materialistic view is not the result of empirical investigation, it is a philosophical interpretation of these results. This interpretation must be tried and tested by philosophy. The result of empirical investigation is to present man before us as a being who has both a bodily and a spiritual life, who lives in two worlds, the seen and the unseen. How is the present object of investigation to be limited on both sides, in relation to the material side and in relation to the absolute spirit? How, also, is the subject to be treated, and by what method? These are the questions set forth and answered in the first section of the first chapter.

He describes briefly the kind of help he expects to get from historical, psychological, and ethical science for the solution of his problem. Chiefly he lays stress on the concrete life of man, as that life is manifested in the course of history. He recognises that man lives as an individual, but always as an individual within the concrete stream of universal life. Thus he speaks of all human actions as contained in these three divisions—religious, legal-moral, and relations of culture. Religious relations are those in which men stand to the supersensual ground of reality; legal-moral contain all the relations in which man stands to other men; while under the head of culture he includes all relations of man to nature, such as those of production and consumption, as well as those of art and science. Thus there is a stream of human life,

and the individual is, as it were, a well in that stream. What is the relation of the individual to the universal? of the folk to the individual? We have an interesting discussion of this, in which are described the influence of the folk on the individual, and the chapter ends with a summation of results he has obtained through this investigation. But the investigation is simply a statement of the problem which has to be solved in the second chapter, What is soul? and what is spirit?

In a characteristic way he begins again with a reference to history, and states again the relation of the individual to the whole. The individual comes to full self-consciousness through interaction with the whole, but the individual is not a bare phenomenon, he is real, and in contact with reality. He then passes to the contrast between personal and the life of things (*sachlichen leben*). In this section he seems to us to make distinctions, and to frame definitions which are peculiar. He speaks of *sachlichen leben* in a way hard to understand, and to attribute to it qualities which properly belong only to personal beings. Thus he speaks of the primacy of thought in *sachlichen leben*, and of it as spiritual. The result is somewhat confusing. In truth, the words "personal" and "unpersonal" are used in a peculiar sense. It would have been an improvement had he used these words in their common meaning, more especially as the peculiar sense adds nothing to his argument. In the end he concludes that the constitutive elements of the idea of spirit are the "*Ich*" and "*das Denken*." There is a suggestive section on the relation between spirit and nature as the basis of personal life, and there is a good discussion of the universal basis for the postulate of the immortality of the personal spirit.

We have found the book to be full of interest, but not so much in relation to the particular problem stated in the title. That problem remains to be solved. But the book opened up to us wide vistas of thought, threw open to view many suggestive views of wide-reaching importance in philosophy, in history, and in theology, and we have been greatly enriched by the study of it. The book has, indeed, raised many questions, and has settled very few; but to raise questions wisely is a great service, and this our author has done. It is a great gain to learn that on most questions a great deal remains to be said.

JAMES IVERACH.

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**The Christian Pastor and the Working Church.**

*By Washington Gladden, D.D., LL.D. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Post 8vo, pp. xiv. 485. Price, 10s. 6d.*

WITH theories of the Christian Ministry and Ecclesiastical Polity this treatise takes nothing to do; nor does the scope of the work include Homiletics. The former subject has been dealt with in Dr Allen's volume in this series; the latter has been assigned for treatment to other most competent hands. Liturgics, Pedagogics, and Halioutics are also extraneous to the purpose of the present work, which deals with Poimenics and Catechetics alone.

The author's view-point, characteristic of the times, is soon evident, and dominates the whole survey. "The Christian Church and its pastor form the subject of this study. By the Church is meant the local congregation of Christian believers. To the organisation and work of this congregation, under the leadership of its minister, our inquiry will be addressed."

Emphasis is thus transferred, for the first time in a large work of the kind, from the ministry to the congregation. The author (perhaps, from several points of view, the most competent man in America to handle this subject,) is weakest on the historical side, strongest, where strength is most needed, on present-day Christian activity—the Church of to-day and to-morrow. "On the scholastic side," he remarks, "the book will be found less elaborate than many of the treatises which have preceded it"; and he wisely refers his readers, for the history of pastoral method, to the pages of Van Oosterzee and Theodosius Harnack. The introductory chapter furnishes certain bibliographical references. The lists, though omitting some favourites, are fairly exhaustive. Vinet, Fairbairn, Blaikie, Oosterzee, are always at his elbow; and he does not hesitate to make free use of good authorities. He writes, doubtless, with large knowledge, but still as an American best versed in the methods of his own country. For apology, if any be needed, he can point to the same limitation (geographical) in the works of all his predecessors: "A flavour of the soil is always in them." For compensation there is of course the suggestiveness arising from comparison and contrast.

The form in which the subject-matter is presented is a series of chapters—or lectures, shall we say, for they may very well have been prepared for delivery as such? In adopting this form, to the rejection of better example and precedent, the author has chosen a method which lends itself to prolixity and the repetition of the obvious. The reader who dislikes footnotes and appendices, how-

ever, will have no occasion to grumble here. Everything to be said on any branch of the subject is said in its own chapter.

The book reveals no ecclesiastical bias. You perceive or guess where the author stands himself. For who can altogether hide that? But his attitude is one of impartiality to a degree. Indeed one feels that an occasional dash of some strong preference would have invigorated parts of the work. Like most Independents he reprobates the heresy that lurks in the system to which he adheres. The conception of society as an organism is, to him, "even more vitally true of Christian society. 'Many members but one body' is as true of the Church of Jesus Christ in any town or city as it is of the individual members of any given church." "The old individualism has done its own disintegrating work in ecclesiastical as well as in civil society." A necessary reaction against hierarchical despotisms, the protest has gone quite far enough; and he sees reason to hope that "the conception of Christian society as an organism will give us, during the century which is now approaching, some precious fruitage." All this, without impinging on doctrines of polity, comes out in his chapter on co-operation between churches, which, with him, serves the purpose otherwise secured in the organized churches, and would in addition group these together for common ends as high and as many as possible. The idea is an old and favourite one with Dr Gladden, and well-approved, we might add; for his bright chapters on the Christian League of Connecticut proved a stimulus and model for united Christian effort in America, and have not been without influence on the "Free Church Council" movement in England. All the same it may be doubted, however useful and promising such voluntary association of Church units may be, whether anything short of "incorporating union" can ever be greatly effective for attaining the ends in view.

The work is divided, really though not formally, into two parts: one (the smaller) on the pastor—call, duties, relationships; and the other on the organization and activity of a church, *i.e.* congregation. Some of the topics (the call to the ministry, *e.g.*) are handled in good old-fashioned style, for what can be said that is new on such themes? But no chapter is merely trite or stale. Coming from one so wide-awake, eager, resourceful, "forward," the work is surprisingly conservative. Its positions are generally cautious and well-considered. Indeed with some people it might pass for reactionary, in certain respects. For Dr Gladden can see the good and approve it even though discarded or fallen into disrepute, as when he leans to less frequent communion, preparatory services, the revival of catechising, and so on. The distinguishing feature of the book, however, is its freshness of outlook and sympathy with everything, new or old, tending to the perfecting of the ministry and the edify-

ing of the body which is the Church. His idea of the Church as an instrument not an end, an instrument making for righteousness and hastening the advent of the Kingdom, taken along with his theology, which is after the manner or spirit of Robertson and Bushnell, and his keen interest in the great social problems of the hour, will indicate further the standpoint of the author and the scope and aim of the work. When allowance is made for a certain discursiveness, the book may be taken as the best in its own department, more consonant with the character, and more interpretative of the spirit, aspirations and ideals of the Church of to-day, than any kindred work.

The more interesting chapters are those on the children and the young people in the Church, social life within and parish evangelisation around the Church, women's place and work, "Institutional Churches," and the parts dealing with the conduct and character of services (Sunday evening and midweek services in particular, for these and meretricious musicians, as quartettes or choirs, are chief thorns in the Church's flesh beyond the great sea).

On Sunday Schools, as befits an American and a treatise of this kind at this time of day, Dr Gladden has much to say. The earlier authorities barely alluded to the subject, Van Oosterzee sparing less than half a page of 620 pp. to it. The religious well-being and upbringing of the young command two or three out of twenty chapters; and this is as it should be. The whole problem of the religious instruction of the young has yet to come up in our country. It may have to be conceded that the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians are right in requiring a more thorough daily instruction of their children in religious matters, and that others have supinely been satisfied with a minimum, a least common measure (to mix terms somewhat) of religious teaching. No fault is to be found with the zeal of the former if only they would teach their teaching at their own expense. The fault of the latter is their remissness in securing the thorough instruction of their young and their indifference as to how the work is paid for. Dr Gladden sees this, regrets it, and cogently argues for the revival of catechising and the pastor's part in this work. "At the present time the fidelity and thoroughness with which Roman Catholic children are taught by their pastors the doctrines of their Church, utterly put to shame the negligence of the descendants of the Reformers. . . . It is time the Reformed Churches, whose system rests on instruction, had taken up the weapons which have been thrown away." He argues for the use of appropriate catechetical instruction, and is naturally a warm admirer of Dupanloup's method. He has much that is interesting to say on the experiments made in his own country.

Altogether it is a chapter to occasion much searching of heart. Nor is the twin chapter on Sunday Schools much less important. Principles, particulars, methods, are set forth with precision and emphasis. Sunday School buildings, the superintendent (qualifications, appointment, etc.), the conduct of the school, lessons, singing, and what not, are all fully and instructively discussed. No Sunday School superintendent, no minister, should escape examination on chapters ix. and xv. They would work a revolution in some Sunday Schools, and the dissolution of others. On discipline for instance, he is explicit and unmistakable. "The one thing that should not be tolerated in a Sunday School is disorder. Nor is there any difficulty in the case. A superintendent who demands it can secure it. . . . Misbehaviour in the Sunday School is sometimes tolerated because the superintendent fears that by the enforcement of discipline he will drive children from the school. It is better, they say, that the children should come even if they do misbehave; they may get some good out of the service; we must not drive them into the street. But this is sophistry. It is far better that the children should be in the street than that they should be behaving riotously in the Lord's House. The lesson of irreverence, of disrespect for sacred places and sacred services which many of them are learning in the Sunday School is one of the worst lessons they could learn." Nor does he aught extenuate "the stupid and formal Sunday School service." With the author's attitude to the International Lesson Scheme, many will find themselves in full sympathy. A change is inevitable and has, indeed, already begun. Only, after the law of such movements, every several Church and Association is making experiments of its own in providing a rational graduated system of religious instruction.

On the form or order of service he has much to say that will meet with more approval to-day than would have been accorded to such views not many years ago. The odd circumstance, explicable enough historically, that in matters of public non-liturgical worship the minister has so large, the worshippers so small, a share, is acutely and profitably discussed. The rejection of everything liturgical,—and even the reading of Scripture in public worship was an unsettling innovation in some American churches a hundred and fifty years ago,—led to a species of apparent sacerdotalism. But reform is abroad, and Dr Gladden makes a worthy contribution to the cause of improved public worship. In the exclusive claim or conceded right of an ordained clergyman to administer the sacraments and pronounce the benediction, our author finds something that savours of priestism even in Puritanism. To him the modified formula, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with us all"



(instead of "*you*") has saving virtue, and he commends it, rather needlessly. Even Austin Phelps, guiltless enough of High leanings, condones any imagined tincture of sacerdotalism that may be traced in the proper apostolic form. Dr Gladden is disposed, all things considered (and he considers every aspect of the question very fully), to approve of the Lord's Supper being given to the sick in suitable circumstances. On Baptism he holds views the reverse of High, reducing the Sacrament (in the case of infants at any rate) to a form of dedication. What is written on the midweek and Sunday evening services,—and what he says is full of suggestiveness,—would be more convincing if one did not feel that a large part of the object is to meet the difficulty of meagre or waning attendance at these services; for apparently the case is much worse in America than in England. It is too much a question of how effectively to draw the people out to these services. Of course they can be drawn in crowds. Anyone can do it. But if they will not come to pray and to profit by the truth of God, it is a thing of two thoughts whether they should be tempted by discourses on a variety of topics that just touch the fringes of religion; and only an encyclopædic minister could meet Dr Gladden's requirements, literary, artistic, and scientific.

But we must part with the volume. The chapter on "Institutional Churches" may be a revelation to many. Only in America could single congregations "run" colleges (almost universities) with thousands of students, confer degrees, maintain hospitals, and a score of such public general institutions. Dr Gladden views such many-sidedness with considerable favour as an end, good apart from the good end it may also serve. Indeed, he betrays quite a Chalmerian disinclination to hand over the Church's ancient heritage in the poor and suffering to the exclusive control of the State. But the old order changeth, and not for the worse altogether, if the Church so Christianizes the State as to render it willing to undertake those great national charities which are unsectarian, Catholic, Christly, human. What the Church needs to take care of is that she do not jeopardize her most precious possession, her spiritual quality, by too great or too varied or unnecessarily protracted engrossment in things not essential to her mission and commission.

Apart from the flavour of the soil, and a few such Americanisms as "antagonize," "arrearage," "rendition" (of music), the book is quite "International," and is the freshest and most useful work we possess in its own department of Pastoral Theology.

JOHN C. GRANT.

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**Seelsorgerliche Kreuzfahrten im Kampf wider Kräftige Irrtümer.**

*Von Johann Friedrich Hashagen, Doktor und ord. Professor der Theologie, &c., zu Rostock. I. Band: der Knecht Christi. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 356. Price, M.5; bound, M.6.*

DR HASHAGEN'S homilies supply a wholesome, spiritual diet to the readers of the *Critical Review*. The growth of the soul in the graces of a devout, religious life does not receive very much real help from critical studies as usually prosecuted in these days. And a work like this from the University preacher in Rostock—a work which breathes throughout the spirit of sincere piety and evangelical fervour—may find a useful place among the volumes of learning and research whose names are honourably recorded in the *Critical Review*.

Dr Hashagen appears to have had some difficulty in choosing a title for the volume before us. It consists of a series of contemplations, meditations, or discussions founded on the Epistle to the Philippians. For a number of years Dr Hashagen has made a careful study of that Epistle. The results of his studies are partly recorded in the present work, which has been published at the request of those who had the opportunity of listening to the discourses contained in the volume.

The author finds a text for the topics he means to discuss in Phil. iv. 8, 9; and the greater part of the present volume consists of a series of homilies on these verses. The object of the popular preacher is, as may be expected, entirely practical. Dr Hashagen is a man of courage. He assumes the rôle of a crusader. At the close of the nineteenth century he finds enemies of the Christian faith as deadly and determined as any that the knights of chivalry, with Richard Cœur de Lion at their head, contended with seven centuries ago. Against these enemies, who, in our day, are to be found mainly in the spiritual and intellectual sphere, Dr Hashagen enters on a campaign as fearlessly as any knight of the old time.

At the close of Phil. iv. 8, the Apostle exhorts the Philippian brethren to think on the true, the honourable, &c., enumerated in the verse. This at once raises the question whether it is in a man's power to control his thinking. If the answer to that question should be in the negative, it is obvious that the Apostle's exhortation cannot fairly be pressed; non-compliance cannot involve a *culpa*.

The question thus raised Dr Hashagen quite properly declines to discuss with those who *abstractly* deny the responsibility of man.

And the line of thought followed in the exposition of this topic may suffice to show the evangelical character of the teaching of the book. It is obvious (so the argument runs), that the Apostle addresses, not the natural man, but the true Christian—the man who has been born again. In respect to his thoughts, as to other matters, the natural man is not free. Personally, his energy is crippled; he neither possesses, nor does he care to possess, the ability to nourish his thoughts with that which is really good, or even to influence them for good. It is quite different with the regenerate man. In him the Grace of God is sufficient for right thinking, as for other things. That is the first point. The next question is, whether the Grace of God necessary for right thinking is freely at man's disposal? It is obvious that a revelation from God alone can give a satisfactory answer to that question. This leads Dr Hashagen to refer to present discussions regarding the books of the Bible, specially those of the Old Testament. Here his attitude is uncompromising. His position will be most easily indicated by an example. He discusses the opinion, largely supported in these days, that no harm would accrue to the Christian faith although the inerrancy of the Old Testament was given up. His answer is that the way in which the Old Testament is referred to and quoted from by our Lord and his Apostles is conclusive in favour of its absolute trustworthiness. He puts aside the question of *Inspiration*. On that he says frankly that he will express no opinion. But as to the *trustworthiness* of the Old Testament record, he holds that it is inseparably bound up with the trustworthiness of Christ Himself (p. 23). Our Saviour uses the Old Testament as an unconditionally trustworthy book, and neither in His words nor in those of His Apostles can the slightest indication of any other opinion be found (*ib.*). It is scarcely necessary to say that Dr Hashagen gives no quarter to the views of those who suggest that our Saviour accommodated Himself to current ideas, or adopted current expressions, without regard to their historical trustworthiness. Against such a method of dealing with a serious difficulty, Dr Hashagen cries, "non possumus," and takes his stand on our Saviour's claim, "I am the truth." That is an answer which, extreme in itself, will be regarded by many as answering nothing. And if Dr Hashagen had nothing more to say, the matter might be left there. But our author calls special attention to the fact that, in the Sermon on the Mount, and in other discourses, our Saviour repudiates many of the views of the acknowledged religious authorities of His time. This will not be denied. But it is urged that our Saviour's condemnation applies to the spiritual sphere alone. As to matters external, material, historical, his strictures are not available. Dr Hashagen's argument at this point

may appear to be one-sided, but it goes straight to the heart of a difficulty experienced by many earnest-minded men in our time. The line of thought is as follows : It is within our power to investigate the material, the external, the historical. In this sphere investigation has been prosecuted much more fully and successfully in our days than in any former age. But the spiritual sphere is beyond our ken. And the question put by Dr Hashagen is, in the circumstances, not unreasonable, viz., "Who is to draw the line between external and spiritual things?" And, further, "if a book is untrustworthy in statements which it is in our power to investigate, how can we be expected to believe it in matters which, from their very nature, we are incapable of investigating?" These are important practical questions. To answer them by saying that each man must determine for himself what is spiritual in our Saviour's teaching, and act accordingly, is to give as little help to blinded souls seeking the light, as Dr Hashagen does when he seeks to silence opponents by simply quoting our Saviour's claim, "I am the truth." The fact is that there is scarcely a more serious question before the Evangelical Churches at present than that which concerns the authority of Holy Scripture.

Another point on which Dr Hashagen insists is, that a true religious life depends, absolutely, on the state of the heart and mind towards God. The wicked and slothful servant (Matt. xxv. 24 fig.) perished because his personal relation to his Lord was all wrong. This is elementary teaching, but it is the elementary which is most apt to be overlooked in these days. And error in regard to the *fundamentals* can lead to only one result.

The apostle's exhortation to think on "whatsoever things are true," our author applies effectively to everyday life. The Psalmist's prayer—"Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, keep the door of my lips"—is greatly needed in our day. Serious thought with a view to strict truthfulness in the familiar talk of daily life is all too rare. The result is that something not strictly true slips into a man's conversation with his neighbours. It is not a lie—as ordinarily understood. There is nothing very reprehensible. No blame attaches to the intention of the speaker. He is simply thoughtless, and his thoughtlessness may prove the source of no little mischief. That on the one side. On the other, the state of commercial and social life in our days is such that to many it appears impossible to maintain a rigid adherence to what is strictly true. A tendency to *thoughtlessness* regarding truth and falsehood easily follows. The result is somewhat graphically indicated by means of an illustration from the natural world. (Such illustrations seem to come readily to Dr Hashagen, and form a noteworthy feature of the style of his book.) A picture is drawn of a man

standing on the sea-shore on a foggy day, and gazing across the water to the horizon. He cannot distinguish where the water ceases and the heavens begin ; he seems to see ships sailing among the clouds, and the clouds moving through the waters. The application is easy, and the lesson is valuable. Man's capacity for self-deception is not easily measured.

What has been written may be sufficient to show the practical character of Dr Hashagen's teaching.

Having expounded verse 8, the author in two closing chapters deals with the apostle's claim in verse 9. He calls attention to the fact that the exhortation to action does not *immediately* follow the call to meditation. The apostle is not dealing with abstract questions. His object is as practical as Dr Hashagen's in these homilies. He reminds the Philippian converts of the doctrine he taught them, and the life he lived among them. And he calls upon them to take his teaching and example as the rule of their life : "The things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, these things do." As Bengel puts it, "*facit transitionem a generalibus—ad Paulina.*" It may be asked, "what is the Apostle's authority for thus presenting himself as a teacher to be obeyed, an example to be followed?" The answer is found in his personal relation to his Lord. The matter is discussed in connection with the incident of the "Thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 1-10). Through a conflict of the kind reported in these verses, a man reaches the position of a true "Knecht Christi,"—even as our Saviour, in the conflict in Gethsemane, showed Himself the ideal servant of God.

Dr Hashagen calls attention to the three-fold prayer of our Lord in Gethsemane, and the three-fold prayer of the Apostle under the agony of the thorn in the flesh.

The answer to the Apostle's prayer was not what flesh and blood craved. But it was *the* answer for a man like Paul. He accepted it in simple faith,—in the spirit of Him who, in Gethsemane, said, "not my will, but thine be done." With the confidence and courage of an unquestioning faith in the divine promise, he went forth, the first and greatest Christian Crusader, armed with spiritual weapons alone, to make conquests for the kingdom of God such as no one since his day has achieved.

About the middle of the first century A.D., two men took their lives in their hands, and went through Asia Minor preaching Christ crucified and risen. They were the first Christian Crusaders that visited this part of the world ; and they gained converts to Christ, and planted Christian churches wherever they went. Eleven centuries later, other two Christian crusaders—Conrad, Emperor of Germany, and Lewis, King of France—passed through the same

district. They were not alone. They had each an armed host of about 100,000 men. The two world-potentates lost a great part of their forces—were fain to visit Jerusalem as humble pilgrims—and returned home beaten at every point. In his closing pages Dr Hashagen fixes attention on the contrast between the Crusaders of the first century and those of the twelfth. The true Knecht Christi fights with spiritual weapons, and seeks spiritual conquests alone; and in this warfare Paul is the typical Knecht Christi—after the example of Christ Himself.

Dr Hashagen's volume appeals to the Christian community for earnest thoughtfulness in regard to Christian life and duty, and a more needful appeal can scarcely be addressed to the Church in these days.

Forty pages of notes referring to the literature bearing on the topics discussed, and used in the preparation of the homilies, add considerably to the value of the book. GEO. G. CAMERON.

**After Pentecost, What? A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought.**

*By the Rev. James M. Campbell. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 298. Price, 3s. 6d.*

**Die Heilsbedeutung der Taufe im Neuen Testament.**

*Von Lic. Theol. Paul Althaus. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. xii. 321. Price, M.4.50.*

IN Mr Campbell's suggestive book we have the substance of a course of lectures given before the Summer School of the University of Chicago and the Macatawa Park Assembly, Michigan. The author begins with a much needed rebuke to those who raise the cry, Back to Pentecost. He shows admirably the senselessness of the cry, and the folly of crying out for the past when we have the power that was given in the past still with us for the work of the present and the preparation for the future. Pentecost as an event is of the past, and never can and never shall come back. "Its rushing mighty wind, its miraculous gifts are gone. They belonged to an initial condition of things that required outward signs and credentials. Christianity is now an established fact, and has no need of attestation. It is its own credential." Yet all that is spiritual and essential in Pentecost remains. The truth for which Pentecost stands is needed to counteract the materialism in philosophy and the formalism in religion of to-day. From this point of view the

author proceeds to treat of Christ, God, worship, the apprehension of death, man, holiness, authority, as imposed by the Spirit, showing how each of these conceptions has to be spiritualised and transfigured into spirit. There is a long chapter (pp. 153-209) on Spiritual Operations, in which the Spirit's work in convicting, regenerating, renewing, anointing, teaching, leading, witnessing, sealing, inscribing, inspiring, interceding, indwelling, striving, is discussed and set forth in a discriminating and suggestive manner. "It is wrong," says our author, "to speak of this sin" (the sin against the Holy Ghost) "as the unpardonable sin." No sin is unpardonable. All that is affirmed of it is that it is an *unpardoned* sin; and it is now and must for ever be an unpardoned sin, not because God in His infinite mercy is unwilling to pardon it, but simply because those who commit it are in an unpardonable condition. For the impenitent there is pardon nowhere and at no time, but for the penitent there is pardon everywhere and at all times." But must not this be said of all sins, as well as of this particular sin? This, however, is true, that the rejection of the Holy Ghost is the unpardonable sin, because it is the rejection of the Spirit who alone can give repentance.

The volume is concluded by an interesting and stimulating chapter on The Kingdom—spiritual and universal. "After Pentecost the Church; through the Church the Kingdom." The author is acquainted with what Augustine, Bruce and Kaftan, have said about the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom is the ideal which the Church has never wholly lost sight of. "An ideal church may nowhere be found, but a church with an ideal is found wherever there is a church in which the Spirit dwells." This work is well fitted, by directing men's thoughts to the Spirit of Power, to help toward the realising of the Kingdom which is Righteousness, and Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost.

Mr Althaus's volume is a really able and helpful work, but it suffers greatly from the form in which it is issued. The 316 pages of its text are sent forth without title headings of any description, and they are printed continuously without any chapter or sectional divisions. The distribution is set forth admirably in the contents, and if only the divisions there indicated and the titles of sections and subsections there given, were repeated in their proper places throughout the book, it would greatly facilitate the use of a very painstaking and elaborate treatise. The work consists of three unequal parts:—First an important Introductory part: The Historical Foundations and Presuppositions of New Testament Baptism (pp. 1-34), in which the author deals (1) with John's Baptism, which has immediate reference to the promised washing of the



Messiah at the coming of the Kingdom of God; (2) with the instituting of Christian Baptism by the Risen Christ—as means of initiation into the fellowship of Christ, and as being of a sacramental character as an act of individual appreciation of salvation; (3) with the sending of the Spirit at Pentecost as the condition of fulfilling the command to baptise. The second division is the chief part: Development and Grounding of the Apostolic utterances as to the Saving sense of Baptism from its connection with the New Testament Announcement of Salvation. This part falls into two sub-divisions: (1) The fundamental importance of the gracious activity of the Holy Spirit for the saving efficacy of Baptism: Baptism as Baptism of the Spirit (pp. 34-103). Here we have a most admirable study of the Apostolic doctrine of Baptism with the Spirit, Baptism in the power of the Spirit, and the gracious effects of such Baptism; (2) the fundamental importance of the gracious activity of the living Christ for the saving efficacy of Baptism: Baptism as Christ-Baptism (pp. 103-296). Christ baptises with the Spirit in order through the Spirit to communicate Himself to the recipient of baptism. Thus in baptism a general gracious fellowship with the living Christ is formed. At considerable length (pp. 115-296) our author treats of: The personal sharing by means of baptism in the gracious effects of the Messianic facts of redemption pledged to us in the person of the living Christ. We have here a thorough and painstaking review of the New Testament literature on the subject. In discussing the Pauline doctrine, the writer shows that Paul regards the sacrificial death of Jesus as the basis of the power of baptism in pardon, that he makes the person of the risen Christ the conditioning means of pardon in baptism, and that He makes baptism represent the personal fellowship with Christ in His death and resurrection. In a short closing section, pp. 296-316, we have a statement of the relation of baptism and faith in the New Testament.

It will thus be seen that Herr Althaus has given us a well arranged presentation of the New Testament doctrine of Baptism in its spiritual, as distinguished from its liturgical, significance. His subject is Christian baptism, and so he does not raise the question of adult or infant baptism. But he closes his Preface with the significant words:—"A right knowledge of baptism as such is the necessary basis, but, at the same time, the surest warrant for the correct solution of the question as to the right of infant baptism."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.



**The Christian Interpretation of Life, and other Essays.**

*By W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898.*  
*Cr. 8vo, pp. 335. Price, 4s. 6d.*

WITH one exception the chapters composing the above volume have already appeared in the form of articles, contributed, during the last few years, to the *London Quarterly Review*. A risk attends such reprints; but in the present case the author did well to ignore it. Professor Davison writes to excellent purpose on the various topics he deals with, and is entitled to seek a longer lease of life for his work than the pages of a popular magazine could have promised him.

The opening paper, which gives its title to the volume, is perhaps the best of the series, and consists of an attempt at a broad, general statement and defence of the Christian view of the world and human life in view of the difficulties raised for faith by modern scientific and agnostic thought. Written with full understanding of all that is to be urged on the other side it claims a superior reasonableness notwithstanding, under all the main heads, for the new Testament interpretation of existence, and may be commended as, within its limits, an admirably successful piece of argumentation. The chapter which follows, in the form of a review (mainly) of Mr Lilly's *Great Enigma*, deals with the same general topic, though less satisfactorily. In chapter iii., on "The Seat of Authority," Dr Davison has little difficulty in finding some of the more obviously weak places in the rendering of Christianity given by Dr Martineau in his well-known volume, or in disposing of the indefensible criticism on which he rests his case. Chapter iv., on "The Christian Philosophy of Religion," insists on the late revival of speculative interest in religion, and the fresh considerations that have been brought to bear in favour of the theistic position. Under the title "The Foundations of Christian Faith" we have a discussion of Mr Balfour's recent work, and of the posthumously published "Notes on Religion," by Mr Romanes, and under that of "Christianity and Greek Thought" a vigorous criticism of Hatch's Hibbert Lecture. "The Evidential Value of Christian Experience" deals, in a sympathetic and yet independent spirit, with the late Dr Stearns' lectures on that subject; "The Service of Man: Positivist and Christian"—the only chapter in the volume which has a rather belated look—with positivist morality as taught by the late Cotter Morison and Mr Morley; and "Problems in Christian Ethics," with Dr Newman Smith's meritorious contribution to this branch of theological science. Finally, in a chapter on "The Realisation of Christian Unity," written *à propos* of the Papal Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*,

as also of Canon Mason's "Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity," the author enters the lists against Romanist and High Anglican alike in defence of the New Testament idea of the Church as it is understood among evangelical Protestants.

It will be seen that the contents of the book are of a very varied character—too varied by far to permit of detailed criticism here. Treating, within limits so narrow, of half the burning religious and theological questions of the day, Professor Davison will not expect always to carry with him those even whose general sympathy he commands; and he would be the first to confess that the treatment he accords, vigorous as it is, to many of the themes he has touched on still leaves a great deal unsaid. At the same time, a volume of *aperçus* like this has its own excellent uses. It may be heartily recommended as a safe and instructive guide to the lay reader seriously interested in such matters. Thoroughly well-informed, catholic in temper, and earnestly reasoned it is admirably fitted to fulfil its purpose, namely, to "aid in commending Christian views of life to some who have not been disposed to accept them [and] in strengthening the hold of the Christian faith on others who may have been wondering and doubting rather than believing" (Preface). And no aim can be higher than this.

ALEX. MARTIN.

### **Die Zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus.**

*Eine kirchenhistorische und neutestamentliche Untersuchung, von lic. theol. Rudolf Steinmetz, Pastor zu Neuenkirchen im Lande Hadeln. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 244. Price, M.3.60.*

THIS book, the result of a German Pastor's work in his leisure hours, discusses St Paul's second imprisonment (a) without reference to the Pastoral Epistles, (b) with the additional evidence which these writings afford.

Originally the author had intended to treat the subject from the point of view of (a) alone, in the pursuit of his private studies, but the case is materially strengthened, we venture to think, by the examination of St Paul's own writings.

There are probably many who sympathize with the position of Dr B. Weiss, that the hypothesis of the spuriousness of the Pastoral Epistles involves incomparably greater difficulties than the view that they are what they profess to be. If we accept these Epistles the fact of St Paul's liberation and second imprisonment is practically established, for we cannot say that any of the attempts to fit

the Epistles in question into an earlier portion of the Apostle's life are likely to carry much weight, as Steinmetz abundantly proves (p. 122 ff.).

On the other hand, the publication of Spitta's inquiry, bearing the same title as the book before us, in 1893 (*Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, i.), shows us that a critic who in some respects is far removed from a conservative standpoint, holds that a strong case may be made out for an historical second imprisonment apart altogether from the Pastoral Epistles.

Herr Steinmetz reaches in the main the same conclusion as Spitta, but independently, as the latter's inquiry was not read by him until his own work was well on its way to completion.

In dealing with the evidence outside the New Testament Herr Steinmetz starts with the passage in Eusebius, *Hist.* ii. 22, according to which St Paul was released from his first imprisonment, continued to preach, and suffered martyrdom during a second imprisonment under Nero, pp. 17-18 having been previously occupied with attesting the undoubted fact that the Apostle died a martyr's death in Rome, whatever difficulties may arise as to the date and circumstances of his death. The examination of the passage in Eusebius is very discriminating. Herr Steinmetz, with many modern critics, believes that Eusebius was entirely mistaken in supposing that the expression *πρώτη ἀπολογία* in 2 Tim. iv. 16 refers to a former imprisonment of St Paul, and not to an earlier appearance (*actio prima*) before the Roman Court in the same imprisonment. But the mistake, if it be a mistake (and we must remember that Zahn, in his recent *Einleitung in das N.T.*, i., pp. 402, 403, sides with the interpretation of Eusebius) is due to the historian himself—the tradition that Paul died in a second imprisonment he found already in existence (p. 33). Certainly he uses the phrase *λόγος ἔχει*, but Steinmetz rightly declines to see in the expression anything else than an appeal to a current tradition (p. 34). In support of this view he might now appeal to the judgment of Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i., note p. 240, who inclines to regard the phrase in the same light. The chronology of Eusebius Steinmetz rejects as entirely mistaken and unreliable (pp. 36 ff.). According to this Paul arrives in Rome about 56 A.D., and is put to death on the same day as St Peter in 67. But these mistakes afford no ground for ignoring the reference of Eusebius to St Paul's release, although the fact that the historian quotes no testimony in support of his statement obliges us to seek additional vouchers (pp. 42 ff.).

Here again Harnack's book, to which allusion has just been made,  
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might have been quoted with some advantage. Harnack accepts the date of Eusebius, or perhaps a little later, the spring of 57, for St Paul's arrival in Rome, and although he places the Apostle's death not in 67, with Eusebius, but three years sooner, in 64, the important point for our present subject is his contention that even with the earlier date plenty of time is left for St Paul's visit, after his release, to the East, and also to Spain (*ubi supra*, pp. 233 ff.).

Two famous passages, to support the tradition of Eusebius, are discussed at length (pp. 46-81). The first is taken from St Clement's Epistle (93-97 A.D.) chapter v., where we read of St Paul: *δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών*. Steinmetz declines to follow Meyer, and to see in the expression *ὅλον τὸν κόσμον* undue exaggeration: it simply corresponds to the Latin expression *totus orbis terrarum*, i.e., the Roman Empire; and even if we admit that St Clement is writing in a rhetorical strain, this is a different thing from stating what is actually untrue. A very useful and careful examination of the different meanings assigned to the expression *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* follows (pp. 48 ff.), including the attempts of a whole series of critics, commencing with Baur, and embracing the names of Reuss and Hilgenfeld, to interpret the words figuratively and not geographically.

In answer to all these explanations Steinmetz presses the fact that we have not only *δύσις* but *τέρμα* to consider (p. 51). The former word alone might mean Rome and the West, but when we bear in mind that Strabo speaks of the columns of Hercules as the ends *τὰ πέρατα* of the earth towards the West, and that Philostratus speaks of Gades as situated *κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα*, the whole expression points beyond Rome, and Clement, living in Rome and writing there, evidently has Spain in his mind. Certainly, as Renan pointed out, *L'Antichrist*, p. 106, and as Spitta and Harnack, to say nothing of Zahn and Godet, have since urged, the whole phrase is unnatural as a designation of Rome by one writing in Rome.

Moreover, St Clement wrote only some thirty years or so after St Paul's death, and he must have known whether the journey purposed in Rom. xv. was accomplished or not. The further mention of St Paul in the same passage two or three lines previously as *ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας* (not *πολλάκις*, as Zahn reminds us) sufficiently shows that Clement had definite knowledge of Paul beyond the narrative of the Acts, and that he was following some independent tradition, p. 64 (so Spitta, *ubi supra*, p. 58). In the four following pages the difficulties connected with the words *μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων* are examined, but we can only refer our readers to these pages, or to the remarks of Godet, *Introduction on N. T.*, i. 633, 634; cf. Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 446; or Spitta, *ubi supra*, p.

56. A discussion follows in pp. 54-64 of the reasons why the Fathers do not refer to the passage in Clement, and one or two important points are justly emphasized, especially in relation to Origen and St Cyril.

The famous passage in the Canon Muratori next claims attention (pp. 65 ff.), and there are two points upon which Herr Steinmetz specially insists: (1) the writer of the Fragment regards the journey of St Paul to Spain as an historical fact equally with the martyrdom of St Peter, a point which has been forcibly insisted upon by Zahn in his recent *Einleitung in das N. T.* (see i. 440); (2) the difficulty in supposing that the tradition of a journey of St Paul to Spain is entirely based upon the Apostle's words in Rom. xv. Whatever may be the value of the apocryphal Acts, their statements are claimed by Steinmetz as showing us that the Muratorian Fragment may well have followed a tradition of St Paul's journey to Spain, which was quite independent of Rom. xv.—a position which is precisely the same as that recently maintained by Zahn (*ubi supra*, p. 440). It must be borne in mind that the last-named writer places the Fragment in question at a later date than many critics, possibly in the first decade of the 3rd century, although in this he is not followed by Spitta or Steinmetz. But even if we accept the later date, we have still to remember that the place of composition is probably Rome (see Dr Salmon's article in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 1000).

We now come to what will appear to many the weakest part of the book—the attempt to prove (pp. 86 ff.) that traces may be found in Spain of St Paul's work in that country. It cannot be said that any tangible result is gained, and the inscription found in Spain, which records how Nero succeeded in extirpating the new superstition which had spread over the Empire (Gruter, *Inscr.*, p. 238, No. 9), is not only very far from being accepted as genuine, but also would not in itself afford any proof of St Paul's visit.

But quite apart from these later pages, there still remain one or two serious considerations, which in our judgment cannot fairly be ignored. The testimony of St Clement is that of a man writing in Rome; Dr B. Weiss, who attaches no weight to the evidence from the passages in St Clement and the Muratorian Fragment, admits that a reference to the extreme limits of the *orbis terrarum* is quite possible in St Clement's words (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 286). Dr J. Weiss (*Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897) has recently urged that the author of Acts regards Rome as ἑσχατον τῆς γῆς (i. 8) just as the author of St Clement's Epistle regards Rome as τέρμα τῆς δύσεως (p. 54); the two expressions are practically synonymous. But surely it is one thing for anyone speaking in Jerusalem to refer to

the spread of the Gospel to Rome as a preaching "to the uttermost parts of the earth;" in the *Psalms of Solomon*, viii. 16, Rome is apparently so regarded, and in the same phrase as is used in Acts i. 8. But it is quite another thing for a man writing in Rome to speak of the city in such or similar terms. Rome was not the *τέρμα* either of the Empire or of civilisation: "Spain was by far the most thoroughly romanised district of the Empire, as was marked . . . by the act of Vespasian in 75, when he made the Latin status universal in Spain. From the centre of the Roman world Paul would go on to the chief seat of Roman civilisation in the West, and would thus complete a first survey, the intervals of which should be filled up by assistants, such as Timothy, Titus, etc." (Ramsay, *St Paul*, etc., p. 255). No doubt it still remains open for the opponents of the view that St Paul visited Spain to insist above all, as Dr M'Giffert has recently done, upon the fact that we have no trace of the Apostle's visit in the tradition of any Spanish Church (*History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 416), but on the other hand, the *persistence of any tradition* in the Roman Church that such a visit was made is certainly remarkable, cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral.* xxxi. 103, and Zahn, *ubi supra*, p. 450.

That tradition persisted (as we venture to think a fair interpretation of St Gregory's words plainly shows) in spite of the statements of Innocent I. and Gelasius, which may well have been made, as Zahn and Steinmetz (p. 81-83) maintain, in defence of papal claims. And this tradition rested, to say nothing of the Apocryphal Acts, not merely upon the passage in St Clement, but also upon the statement of the Muratorian Fragment, dating probably within the second century, either from Rome itself, or at least from a writer closely acquainted with the city.<sup>1</sup>

In the second part of his work, Herr Steinmetz considers at length the Pastoral Epistles as witnesses to St Paul's second imprisonment. The Patristic evidence in their favour is closely examined (p. 97 ff.), and the references contained in St Clement's Epistle are, we think, successfully proved against Holtzmann. The same ground has been covered by B. Weiss and Godet, to say

<sup>1</sup> In the very full and able article on "Chronology of N. T." lately contributed by Mr Turner to the new *Bible Dictionary*, i., p. 420, 421, we read, "That Paul after his release carried out the desire long before expressed by him to go on from Rome to Spain, is made more than probable by the testimony of St Clement, that the Apostle 'preached righteousness to the whole world, and reached the boundary of the West' *ad Cor.* v., and of the Muratorian Canon (c. A.D. 200), *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*. On the possibility that the *Galatia* to which Crescens was sent, 2 Tim. iv. 10, may have been the greater Gaul of the West, see the above article, and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 2 and 81 (3rd edition).



nothing of other writers, and we need not follow the argument in detail. But in the review of the apocryphal literature of the second century, stress is justly laid upon the points of contact between the Acts of Paul and Thekla and 2 Tim., and here the writer might have further supported his case by a reference to Professor Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* (p. 417 ff.).

Space forbids us to enter at any length upon a review of the way in which Herr Steinmetz meets further plausible objections against the Pastoral Epistles. Probably for us in England, Dr Hort's *Judaistic Christianity*, ch. vii., has sufficiently proved that there is no necessity to see any references in these writings to the Gnostic heresies of the second century; and Steinmetz insists upon the strangeness of the fact that if a forger had been endeavouring, in his conflict with Gnosticism, to seek the authority of St Paul, he should have spoken with so much uncertainty, instead of indicating precisely the false teaching which he desired to refute; so vaguely indeed has the unknown writer stated his case that Steinmetz derives another argument for the genuineness of the letters from the fact that modern critics are so divided as to the precise heresies attacked (pp. 147, 168).

A third series of objections based upon the conditions of the Church as represented in the Pastoral Epistles is discussed at length (pp. 171 ff.) and with much care and perspicuity. Take as an instance the treatment of 1 Tim. iii. 13.

Two final objections receive careful consideration, and, we venture to think, refutation—viz., those based upon the teaching and language of the Pastoral Epistles. Here we traverse ground already successfully occupied by Dr B. Weiss in Germany, and by Dr Salmon (*Introduction to the New Testament*, ch. xx.), and Dr Wace (*Speaker's Commentary*, New Testament, vol. iii., pp. 749 ff.).

But it is worthy of note that Steinmetz differs from Godet in refusing to account for the style and language of our Epistles on the supposition that the old age of the Apostle betrays itself in these writings. We must remember, as Jülicher has so far rightly maintained, that St Paul had written Philippians and Philemon within the few preceding years, and that no one professes to find in these two Epistles the traces of an old man's style. Nor can we rest satisfied with the view that, as private letters, the Pastoral Epistles would naturally differ from public, since it is evident that they were meant for the Churches in which Timothy and Titus worked.

The true explanation Steinmetz finds in the aim of the letters. In his great Epistles St Paul seeks to develop and to defend the fundamental truths of the gospel. But we are here concerned with letters which insist upon the practical piety of the Christian life,



and even where they are directed against the errors of false teaching, they do not enter upon their refutation, but rather define the attitude which Timothy and Titus should assume with regard to them. They are thus simpler, and not so dialectical as the earlier letters, and especially, in accordance with their aim, are they concerned with advice and exhortation. The objection to the genuineness of the letters based upon the occurrence of so many *Hapaxlegomena* is considerably lessened when we compare the number found in other Epistles which claim St Paul's authorship—*e.g.*, in 1 and 2 Corinthians Weiss counts 100 (Godet 92), in Ephesians and Colossians 140 (Godet, 153), whilst many of the *Hapaxlegomena* in our three Epistles may evidently be accounted for by the objects in view, and the false teaching under consideration. We venture to think that Steinmetz has omitted a point of value upon which Weiss specially insists, in that the Pastorals contain expressions only found elsewhere in the Epistle, which we may perhaps claim as nearest to them in time—*e.g.*, *σεμνός, ἐν πᾶσι, ἐπέχειν, προκοπή* (*cf.* also Dr Gwynn, *Speaker's Commentary*, iii., p. 588, for several coincidences between 2 Timothy and Philippians). No doubt there are some expressions for the use of which we cannot fully account; but Steinmetz rightly refuses to accept this as any reason for the rejection of the Pastorals, and he fairly quotes Holtzmann as allowing, even when insisting upon their characteristic differences, that there still remains a rich province of language common to our three Epistles, and to all which bear the name of Paul (p. 235).

What, then, is our conclusion? If the liberation of St Paul and his second imprisonment are simply hypotheses to save the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, the latter must be ascribed to some unknown author. But this assumption is in reality an hypothesis still more improbable: "incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybden" (p. 237). On this hypothesis the manifold personal greetings, references, and observations become quite inexplicable unless one supposes in the *falsarius* an almost incredible *raffinement*. There only remains, therefore, the supposition that the author, whoever he was, has used fragments of genuine Pauline letters. But this hypothesis, however much its meaning may be glossed over by Jülicher and recent critics, amounts to nothing less than the attribution to the author of a piece of conscious deception. To be consistent, as Steinmetz urges, we must reject the letters as a whole, if we reject them at all, and not accept some fragments as genuine, whilst the remnants are referred to some unknown writer, who boldly gives out his own thoughts with the inscription: "Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus, by the will of God."

But if we take up the position that the letters in question are

entirely or in part fictitious, does the hypothesis of their consequent late composition fulfil all that we expect from it? By no means (p. 239). We are not thereby enabled to put the finger upon any one distinctive form of heresy characteristic of the second century, nor can we prove that the Church organisation or doctrine, as presented to us in the Pastoral Epistles, belong to any later period which can be precisely defined; we have only to consider the strange variety of periods to which the letters are assigned by various writers (p. 239). Above all it is important to bear in mind that the supposed object and purpose of the letters, viz., to establish a monarchical episcopate, or at least to aim at it, as the best guarantee of purity of doctrine, is entirely inconsistent with the fact that in the Epistle, which is regarded by some extreme critics as the oldest of the three, the greater portion is occupied with general exhortations to Christian patience and faithful fulfilment of the Christian vocation, which have no connection with the supposed object in view (p. 240).

We miss in the book before us any reference to English writers; only one name occurs, that of Dr Tregelles. No reference is made, as in Spitta's treatment of the same question, to Bishop Lightfoot, and we should have welcomed some allusion to Professor Ramsay in the criticism of the conclusion of Acts, and of the expectancy of freedom in Philippians (pp. 9-14). But we have to thank Herr Steinmetz for a very careful and discriminating examination of the grounds upon which the Pastoral Epistles are accepted, and although we are again and again reminded of the powerful defence of these same Epistles by Dr B. Weiss, the pages before us contain much valuable and suggestive material. These Epistles, if we accept them, carry with them the facts of St Paul's release and of his subsequent second imprisonment, and for our part we should be content to find in their existence a sufficient and irrefutable attestation of these facts.

Since the above pages were written, a review of our book by Dr Carl Clemen has appeared in the *Theologische Rundschau* for June, marked by his usual acuteness and originality. Dr Clemen, of course, differs entirely from the conclusions of Herr Steinmetz, and we venture to demur to the parallel which he draws between the possible mistake of St Clement with regard to St Paul's visit to Spain and the possible and very probable confusion made by Polycrates of Ephesus (writing, it should be remembered, c. 190) between Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle. The two cases are by no means parallel, and the earlier Fragment of Papias, to which reference is also made, is not altogether to the point. But we gladly welcome Dr Clemen's judgment that the book before us is of no small value and significance, and the tribute which he pays to the care and diligence of the author.

R. J. KNOWLING.

**Notices.**

A NEW volume in the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* comes from the pen of the Rev. James Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Mr Lilley has previously written an instructive book on *The Lord's Supper*. He writes now on *The Principles of Protestantism*.<sup>1</sup> It is intended to serve as a companion to Dr Lindsay's sketch of *The Reformation* in the same series, and it follows up the history of the origin of Protestantism in Europe, which is given in that volume, by exhibiting "its leading doctrines as they took shape in the Reformed Churches in opposition to those of the Church of Rome." It attempts, therefore, as its sub-title indicates, "an examination of the doctrinal differences between the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome." The Material Principle is dealt with in Part i., the Formal Principle in Part ii., and the Polity of Protestantism in Part iii.

The main points of doctrine belonging to each of these general topics are carefully stated—the state of man as created, original sin, inability, repentance, faith, good works, &c., under the first; the Scripture, tradition, &c., under the second; the Church, Ministry, and Sacraments under the third. In each case the Protestant doctrine and the Roman Catholic are set over against each other, and an attempt is made to trace the differences between the two to their roots. This is all done in terse and forcible terms. The section which most interests us is that on Scripture—what the Word of God is to the Christian, its perspicuity, its perfection, the theory of development, &c. But we have much that is well considered and well put all through, especially in what is said of the radical difference between the Roman Catholic view of man in his original estate and the Protestant, and on the nature and ordinances of the Church.

There are some sections in which Mr Lilley is less successful. There is something to be desired, for example, in his discussion of the doctrine of Purgatory. But the book as a whole shows much insight into the spirit of the two systems, and is generally fair. So far as it is polemical, its polemic is not overdriven, and it gives in brief compass a great deal of valuable matter. The writer has read widely and thought seriously.

As an example of the author at his best we may refer to what he says on the *Source of certainty respecting the Authority of the Scriptures*. He points out very clearly that the matter at issue between Protestant and Roman Catholic on this subject is not the question "as to what it is that gives the Scriptures that claim on the assent and the obedience of men," nor the question of the

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 250. Price, 2s. 6d.

desirability of being "assured that the Scriptures wield divine authority," nor yet the question whether "the source of our firm persuasions concerning the divine origin and authority of Scripture should be human or divine." The point of difference is, that the Roman Catholic places the sole and sufficient source of a divine assurance respecting the authority of Scripture . . . in the testimony of the Church, while the Protestant holds that the divine testimony is given, "not through a so-called infallible Church, but directly to the individual believer in and with the word in his heart." Mr Lilley then proceeds to show that the Roman Catholic view means that the Church is the "divinely appointed organ of the Holy Spirit on earth, and, therefore, endowed with the gift of infallibility." He indicates how this is put by so competent a theologian as Dr J. A. Möhler, and admits that, if this position could be made good, the Roman Catholic doctrine could be entirely defensible. But he leads an able argument to prove that there is no such inerrable Church on earth as Möhler contends for, that least of all has the Church of Rome any claim to the attribute of infallibility, and that the "Church," whatever definition of it is taken, cannot be said to be the organ of the Spirit "in any sense, or to any extent, that warrants us in receiving her utterances as clothed with absolute truth."

Calvin's statement is then contrasted with Möhler's; the remarkable harmony of the great Reformers and the Reformed Confessions on this vital question is exhibited, and the consonance of the Protestant view with the whole teaching of the Bible on "the relation of the soul to the Spirit and the truth, as well as of these to one another," is very well brought out. The whole discussion of this great subject deserves to be carefully read.

The seventh volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> is to hand. The magazine well maintains its reputation. Under Dr Robertson Nicoll's capable guidance, and with all the benefit of his editorial experience, it could not fail to be successful. Month after month it continues to provide a large variety of able and instructive articles. The present volume contains a number of papers of more than ordinary value. Among these we may specially notice two papers by Professor W. M. Ramsay on *The Authorship of Acts* (an acute but appreciative criticism of Professor M'Giffert's *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*), and on the *Epistle to the Galatians* (a criticism of Zahn's *Einleitung*, which puts *Galatians* chronologically first among the earlier Epistles of St Paul), and the series contributed by Professor Zahn on the Articles of the Apostles' Creed. There are some papers of a more popular kind by the late

<sup>1</sup> London : Hodder and Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

Dr Dale of Birmingham, Dr John Watson, Bishop Chadwick, and others. Professor B. W. Bacon of Yale University subjects the new Chronology of Paul as it is advocated by Harnack, O. Holtzmann, F. Blass, and with certain variations by Professors Ramsay, M'Giffert, and others, to an examination, in which he puts some points in a way that deserves consideration. His conclusion is a very absolute one. He is of opinion that "the foundation on which Holtzmann and M'Giffert have rested the entire weight of their chronologies, and Harnack fully half the weight of his, is a pure anachronism." His contention is that, in view of the testimony of Tacitus and other statements of Josephus himself as to "the continued activity of Felix under Nero," we can find nothing on the "casual, unsupported remark of Josephus," which would imply that the recall of Felix took place before the overthrow of Pallas. Mr Buchanan Gray gives searching criticism of Professor Sayce's "Early History of the Hebrews," and there are other articles of marked ability.

Mr Arthur S. Geden, M.A., tutor in the Wesleyan College, Richmond, contributes a volume on *Comparative Religion*<sup>1</sup> to the series of *Books for Bible Students*, edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. In an introductory chapter the question of Origins is dealt with, clear and able statements being given on Ancestor Worship, Nature Worship, Totemism, the classification of Religions, and similar topics. This is followed by particular studies of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Zoroastrianism, and Muhammadanism. The accounts which are given of the great religious systems are concise, readable, and in most things correct. Nothing is attempted beyond a broad, general statement. There is no room for details. But the whole is done in a simple, direct, and interesting way, so that the book will make a good popular introduction to the study of these ethnic faiths. On the subject of Zoroastrian dualism, the author's position is that the passages in the Gâthas which bear *prima facie* a dualistic interpretation are to be taken as giving only "the popular and superficial impression," and that even the later form of the faith is not dualistic in the sense of teaching the "existence of two equal independent powers of good and evil, alike eternal and omniscient, of equivalent authority, dignity, and rights."

The Rev. Duncan Campbell, B.D., minister of St Matthew's, Edinburgh, contributes a volume on *Hymns and Hymn Makers*<sup>2</sup> to *The Guild Library* of the Church of Scotland. After some good remarks on the definition and the uses of a hymn, the author gives

<sup>1</sup> Studies in Comparative Religion. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 312. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: A. & C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 195. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

a short chapter to the three great hymns of antiquity, the *Ter Sanctus*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*, for which he justly claims the first place for historical reasons and for intrinsic beauty. The best products of the Hymnologies of the great tongues and nationalities, Greek, Early and Later Latin, Early and Later English, German, and American, are considered, short accounts being given of the writers with estimates of their writings. This is all done in excellent taste, and in a modest, pleasing style. All interested in Hymnology will be glad to find a considerable list of living writers of hymns included in the work. The book deserves a large circulation.

We have additions also to the *Bible Class Primers* and the *Guild Text-Books*. The Rev. Ronald G. Macintyre, B.D., writes on *Elijah and Elisha, Prophets of Israel*.<sup>1</sup> The primer looks specially to the purposes of class-instruction. It follows the Old Testament narrative step by step, explaining it in a clear and careful way, and endeavouring to give what will help young persons to understand it and read it with interest.

Dr Norman Macleod of Inverness writes on *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments*.<sup>2</sup> It is a large and difficult subject, bristling with points provocative of controversy. It is handled with great good sense and in a liberal spirit. What is said on the ministry and offices of the Presbyterian Church, the validity of Presbyterian Orders, the Sacramental doctrine of the Reformed Church, and the nature and purposes of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, deserves particular attention. Those to whom it is specially addressed should find much to help and instruct them in the text-book.

A new quarterly magazine is published under the title of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*.<sup>3</sup> It is edited by Dr Achelis of Bremen. It begins well with an article by E. Hardy on the question *Was ist Religionswissenschaft?* Another by W. H. Roscher on the present position of enquiry in the department of Greek Mythology, a series of *Miscellen*, and an able review of Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*.

Mr Smellie, the editor of the very tasteful series of *Books for the Heart* gives us *The Journal of John Woolman*.<sup>4</sup> In addition to an admirable Introduction, we get an appreciation of Woolman by Whittier. The Journal is a remarkable book, full of life and insight. It will be no small service if it is brought under the notice of a wider circle of readers than it has hitherto commanded among us. The volume, so attractive in form and rich in contents, should make

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 112. Price, 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London : A. & C. Black. Pp. 120. Price, 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Freiburg i. B. : Mohr. 8vo, pp. 112. Price, M.14 for the year.

<sup>4</sup> London : Melrose, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. 324. Price, 2s. 6d.



the religious public better acquainted with one of the most notable products of the Quietest period of Quakerism.

Mr James Samuelson, the founder and former editor of *The Quarterly Journal of Science*, publishes a small volume under the title of *Footsteps in Human Progress, Secular and Religious*,<sup>1</sup> which contains some good things. In the form of a series of letters to a friend the author gives us his thoughts on such subjects as secular employments, progress in civilisation, teachers, religious teaching, worship and praise, war and other evils, views of the Deity to-day. The book contains many suggestive reflections on these themes. The conclusion to which it brings us after this large survey of the way in which the progress of mankind has been effected is that the teachings of nature and the Catholic religious beliefs are derived from the same Source; that the human race is still in "its early youth, and is at best only beginning to be educated"; and that it "must be evident to all who take a wide survey of Nature and Society," that instead of humanity being in the final stage of its history, the human mind is "just beginning to expand."

Mr Robinson's *A Study of the Saviour in the Newer Light* was noticed at length in this Journal<sup>2</sup> when it was first published. The book now appears in its second edition<sup>3</sup> and in a revised form. The difference between the two editions in point of substance is not great, and opinions will continue to be much as they were on the scientific merit of the work. In his preface, however, the author states how it became a "case" in the Courts of the Church in which he held a pastorate, and what the issue of that case was. He further explains his own attitude to the action of the General Assembly, the measure of freedom which he claimed, and his willingness to defer to the judgment of his brethren to the extent of "a very thorough-going revision" of the book. This he claims to have done in the present issue. He remains convinced of the importance of the task to which he has applied himself, and makes no essential change in his general argument. The points in which this edition differs from the former are mainly these: Statements showing "the mischievous element of bitterness" are removed; some minor alterations in opinion, as in the case of the "bridegroom" sayings of the Gospels, are made; certain expressions which were found fault with are amended; and among other improvements a critical introduction to the whole work is introduced in place of the former brief introductory note and short supplementary explanations. So far the book is better than it was, and,

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 113. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Review*, Vol. vi., pp. 22-31.

<sup>3</sup> London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xviii. 404. Price, 7s. 6d.



though the former critical methods and opinions are adhered to, the spirit of the entire work is more modest and restrained.

Messrs Macniven & Wallace send us a copy of *A New Directory for the Public Worship of God*.<sup>1</sup> The book is issued under no ecclesiastical authority, but by a private Association of Ministers and Elders of the Free Church of Scotland. This Association was formed at a Conference held in Edinburgh in May 1891. Its object was "to promote the ends of edification, order, and reverence in the public services of the Church, in accordance with Scripture principles, and in the light especially of the experience and practice of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system." It has been working quietly since that date, and is now able to give the public the results of its deliberations.

The President of the Association, the Rev. Dr. D. Douglas Bannerman of Perth, writes an interesting Preface, in which he gives an account of the origin of this movement and the method of procedure followed. The work is founded on the Service-books of the ancient Scottish Church, and aims at conserving their large, reverent spirit and choice, expressive language. Much use is naturally made of the Book of Common Order. Dr Bannerman gives a concise, well-written sketch of that notable Book—the way in which it arose "out of the form of service drawn up by John Knox, Whittingham, and others, for the use of the English exiles at Frankfort in 1554"; the modifications to which it was subjected; the circumstances of its publication and the injunction of the General Assembly regarding it. This new Directory follows the Book of Common Order in giving "specimen forms for certain parts of the ordinary service, *e.g.*, Prayers of Invocation, of Thanksgiving, and for all Estates," etc. It follows the Westminster Directory in giving a large amount of space to "materials and suggestions for Confession, Thanksgiving, Petition, and Intercession."

It should be specially noticed that the Committee have been much indebted to "Hermann's Consultation," the remarkable Service-book prepared in the first half of the sixteenth century by Bucer and Melanchthon "at the request of Hermann, the Protestant Elector and Archbishop of Cologne." This interesting volume appeared, as the Preface states, first in German in 1543, then in Latin in 1545, and in English in 1547 and 1548. The Latin forms for Confession of Sins, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, the Litany, and the Marriage Service, have been translated for this book, and they are admirably suited to the purposes of public, devotional use. Much care has been spent on the preparation of the volume. It is the result of the reverent labours of years. It gives what should conduce to

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 238. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

seemliness and edification in the ordinary worship of the Lord's Day, the administration of the Sacraments, and the ordering of the services on special occasions. It comes with no recommendation but that of its own merits. It will make its own way, we hope, and be valued by many ministers as a discreet and welcome aid in a department of their work to which too much attention cannot be paid.

The second, third and fourth parts of the first volume of the new series of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte altchristlichen Literatur*, edited by Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack, are devoted to Hippolytus and Origen. Dr N. Bonwetch contributes a series of *Studies on the Commentaries of Hippolytus on the Book of Daniel and the Song of Solomon*,<sup>1</sup> and Dr H. Achelis gives a volume of *Studies on Hippolytus*.<sup>2</sup> In both cases the utmost is made of the subject, and the treatises are distinct contributions to the history of early Christian literature. Both authors have bestowed great pains upon their tasks, and have laid students interested in Hippolytus and his time under great obligation. Dr Achelis's studies extend over a wide range. Beginning with a chapter on Hippolytus as a writer, in which he examines the list of works ascribed to the Father on the statue, and deals with the statements made by Jerome, Eusebius and others. He takes up next the story of the life and death of Hippolytus and the various legends connected with his name. A second part of the work is devoted to special questions regarding the *De Antichristo*, the Greek Fragments on Genesis, and the various writings attributed to him. An Appendix furnishes the titles of the works discussed, those, too, of the different manuscripts, and a list of the ancient writers and their works cited or referred to. Klostermann has, for his subject, Origen's Jeremiah-Homilies.<sup>3</sup> It might seem as if he made more of the subject than it is worth. He presents a good case, however, for the interest of his work, and goes with characteristic thoroughness into the whole question, dealing at length with the original number of these Homilies, the place and time of their origin, the Greek manuscripts, the Latin translation of Jerome, the indirect tradition of the Greeks and the Latins. In an Appendix he gives the fragments which are wanting in Delarue and Lommatzsch, and Tables of all the fragments from the Jeremiah-Catenae ascribed to

<sup>1</sup> Studien zu den Kommentaren Hippolyts zum Buche Daniel und Hohen Liede. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 86. Price, M.3.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus Studien. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 233. Price, M.7.50.

<sup>3</sup> Die Ueberlieferung der Jeremiahhomilien des Origenes. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 116. Price, M.3.50.

Origen. It is impossible to go into the details of these discussions. It is enough to say that these studies appear to exhaust their subjects. These three parts of this important series furnish material of which the Church historian must take account.

We are glad to see that Professor Schmiedel's new edition of Winer's New Testament Grammar<sup>1</sup> proceeds apace. The second section of the second part is to hand. It completes the Syntax of the Pronouns, and proceeds to that of the Noun, dealing mainly with the Nominative, Vocative, and Genitive cases. This revision of Winer's large and able work will be of the utmost use to students of the Greek New Testament. It is being so done as to leave little to be desired. It is being carried through with surprising dispatch, but also with extreme care.

*The Biblical Illustrator*, edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., reaches the Book of *Revelation*.<sup>2</sup> It is a large volume, but it covers the whole book. A brief Introduction gives a digest of the ordinary views regarding author, time and place of composition and interpretation. But this is all too meagre by far. It is beyond the professed purpose of the compilation, however, to go at length into these questions. On the other hand every verse, we might say every sentence, is illustrated by apt similes, choice extracts from the works of expositors, and a mass of homiletic matter. There are few preachers who may not find something in this vast repertory, if they have patience to examine it, and do not lose themselves in its abysses.

The Rev. John Stephen Flynn, B.D., Rector of St Mewan, publishes a series of *Studies on the Second Advent*.<sup>3</sup> The author avoids all minor questions, especially those of a controversial order, and limits himself to the task of establishing the doctrine of "a Corporal Advent as a great outstanding fact of the Christian revelation." He deals first with the reasonableness of this doctrine, and then expounds it as he conceives it to be set forth in the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Pauline writings, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles. He is least successful, we think, in what he says of the Old Testament teaching. He is most successful in the New Testament section of his argument, and in the reasons which he gives for holding that the Scripture references were not fulfilled by the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, the destruction of Jerusalem, or any "Spiritual

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Winer's Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet. Von Dr Paul Wilh. Schmiedel. II. Theil: Syntax. Zweites Heft. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898. 8vo, pp. 209-272. Price M.1.

<sup>2</sup> London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 787. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 181. Price, 3s. 6d.

coming to believing hearts." Chapters are added on the relation of the Second Advent to the kingdom of Israel, the evangelisation of the world, the resurrection and the judgment, the eucharist, the Holy Spirit, the Shekinah, and the dead in Christ. These are great themes. They are handled too briefly in this volume, which errs in attempting too much. It commits itself also to the position that the Second Advent is to precede the conversion of the Jews and the successful evangelisation of the world, as well as to the belief in a restoration of their temporal kingdom to the Jews. There is much to dissent from in this book, and much that will not stand the test of a rigorous historical exegesis. There is much in it at the same time that all may read with sympathy.

A collection of *Sermons*<sup>1</sup> by Canon Wilberforce is sure of a hearty welcome and a wide circulation. This volume contains a series of eighteen discourses preached in Westminster Abbey. Some of them are on great matters of Christian doctrine—the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Paradise, Hades, the Communion of Saints, and Propitiation. Others are on subjects of a different kind—the Impulse behind Origins, University and Toleration, Unbinding the Word, &c. There is a very solemn and searching discourse on the Unpardonable Sin. The opening Sermon, entitled Three Inspired Propositions, deals admirably with the great passage in Romans viii. on the subjection of the creature to vanity. The closing Sermon, on the topic "No Wastefulness with God," is a singularly beautiful one. Some of these Sermons show Canon Wilberforce at his best. There is not one in which the touch of his eloquence is not felt. There is nothing trivial, nothing strained in any of them. They are rich in lofty teaching, tastefully and powerfully expressed. It is only occasionally that the Canon commits himself to statements or opinions which are vague or of doubtful warrant from Scripture. Of this, however, there is one instance in the discourse on Hades, where he speaks of the characteristics of that "reign of Christ which is to last until He has brought all enemies under His feet," and describes these as "the winning of souls that are undergoing the aeonian remedial process, the preaching to the spirits in person, who in the discipline of the great darkness are slowly learning to find the Divine embodied in their nature." He plunges into the conjecture that there may be many of our own departed friends thus occupied. "Untrammelled by the flesh," he says, "freed from the limitations of bodily infirmity, in all the unwearied vigour of the spiritual body, they are carrying on the work pertain-

<sup>1</sup> By Basil Wilberforce, D.D., Canon of Westminster, Chaplain to the Speaker, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 5s.

ing to them as a royal priesthood in the kingdom of the Divine Humanity, the perfect Elder Brother, until He shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father." But this discourse, though it is written with something of a glow, is on the whole fanciful and far-fetched in its affirmations and inferences.

Dr Alexander Whyte, on whom his Church has bestowed this year the highest honour she has to confer, gives us another volume of *Bible Characters*,<sup>1</sup> which will be gratefully received by many readers. The series embraces Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Ruth, Hannah, Eli, Samuel, Saul, David, Jonathan, Nabal, Michal, Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, Shimei, Joab, and Absalom. In analysing the characters, tracking the motives of action, and gauging the evil and the good, which show themselves in the Bible stories of lives so full of living and most various interest, Dr Whyte has ample scope for his best faculty. And he has used his opportunity so well that this volume will be reckoned second to none that he has produced. It has the moral throb which is felt in all his writings, the direct appeal to personal duty and experience, and the strong, unaffected style, which gives his pulpit work and his books a character of their own.

A Manual of Christian doctrine, fairly representing the present position of theological inquiry and suitable for Academic purposes, is a thing that has been needed for a length of time. Attempts have been made to supply this want in the Anglican Communion, the Roman Catholic, the Wesleyan, and other Churches. Some of these have been considerable successes. The Germans, too, have more than one serviceable book of the kind. Those by Hase, Grimm, and Luthardt have proved particularly useful. The Churches that hold in the main by the Westminster Confession, however, have been very inadequately supplied. We are glad, therefore, to have in the Rev. John Macpherson's *Christian Dogmatics*<sup>2</sup> a book which better meets the case and brings the student more nearly abreast of theological thought as it is.

The object of the treatise is to give a "systematic presentation in methodical order of all the leading doctrines of the Christian faith," and to do this from the standpoint of a moderate Calvinism. The book aims, too, at preserving proper proportion in the statement of the different doctrines, and in this it is superior to most other books of the kind. It follows the usual plan in the distribution of topics. It takes the doctrine of God and the World first. Thereafter it deals in succession with the doctrines of Man and Sin, Redemption, the Application of Redemption, the Means of Grace,

<sup>1</sup> Gideon to Absalom. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Demy 8vo, pp. 467. Price, 9s.

and the Last Things. This is not a very scientific order, and it fails to give a proper unity to the theological system. It is sufficiently convenient, however, for ordinary class-work and for the uses of students of theology in general. One great advantage of the book also is that it does not limit itself to the bare statement of doctrine in its logical form and order, but introduces both the Biblical element and the historical. The former is given so far as it is "needed to supply the foundation for the dogmas accepted and formulated by the Church." It might have been to the profit of students if a larger place had been allowed to the Scripture proof. But what is furnished is done with care and sound judgment, and will be of much service. The history of dogmas is given concisely in each case. This is one of the best features of the book. Much attention has been paid to the lists of literature. The preparation of these lists must have cost much labour and trouble. They do not undertake to be exhaustive. But they do what is far better. They give the books and articles which are best worth consulting and of most outstanding merit on each topic. We have tested these lists at various points and found them what they profess to be.

If we were to single out any part of Mr Macpherson's *Dogmatics* that seems to be particularly well done, we should point to the chapter on the *Doctrine of Redemption*, and especially to those sections of that chapter which deal with the more difficult questions of the person and work of Christ. The statements on the Sinlessness of our Lord, His pre-existence, the development of His consciousness, and His Divine-human personality, show that the author is familiar with the best discussions that belongs to those great topics, and that he can look at them himself and present them to others in a broad and liberal spirit. Not less to be commended are his paragraphs on the chief theories of the Atonement, the questions of Propitiation and Substitution, and the extent of the Atonement. In these he keeps by the old paths, and gives good reasons for doing so. We anticipate that the book will speedily make its way into the good graces of students of theology, especially those still engaged in class-work.

We wish the publishers all success with the new issue of Frederick Robertson of Brighton's *Sermons*.<sup>1</sup> A *People's Edition* is a happy idea and a timely one. In size, in price, and in print the volumes promise to be most that could be desired. This first volume contains some of the great preacher's noblest discourses—"Christian progress by Oblivion of the Past," the "Sympathy of Christ," the three Advent Lectures, the "Loveliness of Christ,"

<sup>1</sup> First Series. London: Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co., 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 328. Price, 1s 6d.



the "Principle of the Spiritual Harvest," &c. It gives the original Preface, and in addition to that both a new Preface by the author's son and an Introduction by Ian Maclaren. A book like this cannot fail to do good wherever it penetrates. The England of our time has had few preachers, if any, to match Frederick Robertson. His work is of the kind that will abide.

Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie of Chicago Theological Seminary gives us a volume on *Christianity and the Progress of Man as illustrated by Modern Missions*.<sup>1</sup> The subjects dealt with are such as these—the Universalism of Christianity; the Missionary as pioneer, translator; the Missionary in relation to Education, Self-Sacrifice, Civilisation, and the religions of the world. On all these subjects something useful is said, and it is all said in an unpretentious style. The ideas underlying the various chapters are those connected with the two changes which the author regards as the two greatest facts of the close of our century—"the unification of the race and the establishment of the Christian religion as a working force among nearly all nations." In his closing chapter Professor Mackenzie states the three elements or conditions of human progress, namely, increased complexity of social organisation, mastery over nature, and the unification of the race. He gives the main features of the influence of Christianity upon the progress of man, and shows finally that the root of all is in the experience of a present fellowship with God. The book is sensible and edifying. It touches a number of topics with a rapid but instructed hand. It gives a broad, popular view of some matters of great moment, and keeps a hopeful eye to the future.

The edition of the *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* issued some time ago by the Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham, has been already noticed in this Journal.<sup>2</sup> It is a very useful edition, arranged in sectional paragraphs, and giving both the Greek text and the Latin. It has been well received, and we are glad to see it so soon in another and cheaper issue.<sup>3</sup> The Introduction, the Notes, the Glossaries, the lists of various headings, and the observations on special subjects in the Prayers, are all of value.

The Rev. J. A. Carr, LL.D., Vicar of Whitechurch, and Canon of Christchurch, Dublin, is the author of a sketch of the career of the late *Archbishop Benson*.<sup>4</sup> He has already written the *Life and*

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price, 3s 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Review*, Vol. vi., p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 431.

<sup>4</sup> *The Life-Work of Edward White Benson, D.D., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 273. Price, 6s.



*Times of Archbishop Ussher* and other books. This new work is well done. It has grown out of a much slighter sketch which was prepared on the occasion of the Archbishop's visit to Ireland. It gives pretty full particulars of Dr Benson's early days, but devotes most of its space to his ecclesiastical career. Almost everything belonging to the latter is given at length. We feel that the details are sometimes too much for us, and that there is a not unnatural tendency to magnify the importance of things which are only of personal or provincial interest. But the book, on the whole, is a meritorious performance, and it is pleasantly written. It helps outsiders the better to understand what Dr Benson was as a Churchman. It shows us what he was, and what he aimed at as a scholar. Above all, it lets us see something of his inner life, and his many good qualities as a Christian man, as well as his courtly capacity and his administrative gifts. It gives us the picture of a laborious, strenuous, loyal, devout life.

The late Dr Walker of Carnwath was a man who deserved to be remembered. It was on the 5th July 1891 that he was removed by death from a wide circle of appreciative friends who had expected much from him in theological literature. It is only now that we get any *Memoir*<sup>1</sup> of his career in any sense worthy of him. Though it has been late of coming, we are glad to have it, and we are indebted to the Rev. Robert Logan, formerly of Abington, for it. Mr Logan has done his part well, and he will have the thanks of all who knew the worth and the capacity of Dr Walker.

The Memoir itself is comparatively brief, yet sufficient for its purpose. It tells the story of Dr Walker's early promise, his Academic training, his religious impressions and convictions, his quiet ministry in Carnwath, the part which he took in the affairs of his Church, and the circumstances of his too early death. The larger part of the volume, however, is occupied with his literary remains—papers on Sir William Lockhart of Lee, Tertullian, the Eastern Church, some Free Church Papers, and a selection of Sermons. These give proof of a strong, earnest, liberal mind, and a good pen. His most important contribution to literature, however, was his volume of Cunningham Lectures on *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. This is a book which has nothing to match it in its own line, and it is a matter of lasting regret that the author was not able to complete it as he might have done. As it is, it is a book which all must study who wish to understand the theological thought of Scotland. It makes us acquainted with not a few men

<sup>1</sup> James Walker, D.D., of Carnwath Free Church. Essays, Papers, and Sermons. With a Prefatory Memoir by the Rev. Robert Logan, late of Abington. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. lvi. 331. Price, 6s.

of rare gifts and great capacity, whose service to the religious life of Scotland was apt to be forgotten.

We have pleasure also in noticing a sketch of the career of *Dr J. L. Phillips*,<sup>1</sup> which has been prepared with modesty and good taste by his widow. It is the story of a laborious and self-denying life spent in missionary work in India. His letters, of which we get a good many in this volume, as well as the tale of his toils, show us how noble a man he was, and how well fitted to face the work and endure the trials to which he was called to put his hand. A remarkable tribute is paid to him by Senator Reed, late Speaker of the House of Representatives at Boston, and it is evidently nothing more than he deserved. "I always held him in my heart," says Senator Reed, "as the one man I knew who, faithful to his belief, and without a desire for reward in this world, gave up country and friends, health and comfort, for a life unknown alike to fame and pleasure. . . . My tribute to his memory is my sincere admiration for his unselfish life of self-sacrifice and devotion—a life of self-sacrifice and devotion so deep and full and rich that to his dying day he never had thought that he was doing anything nobler than the simple duty which created beings owe to their Creator."

We have to notice an interesting pamphlet on *Cyprian, His Life and Teaching*,<sup>2</sup> by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., which recognises the particular merits of Archbishop Benson's worth, but shows in a very telling way, by sufficient extracts from the writings of the great North African Father, how the Archbishop failed to exhibit the "strange and intolerant teaching of Cyprian in respect of the Church"; a lecture on *Unity in Religion*,<sup>3</sup> by Claud George, of which it is sufficient to say that it attempts to give a rapid survey of the great religions, decides to the writer's great satisfaction the most difficult questions like that of the meaning of Nirvana in a sentence, and in an off-hand way declares it to be now a "settled matter that the doctrine of the Trinity is an exploded theory; and the exclusion, from the sacred text of the Revised Version, of the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St John, utterly takes away the ground from under the feet of the manufacturers of that doctrine"; *Some Notes on the Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae,"*<sup>4</sup> by the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., which will repay perusal; *Sermons*

<sup>1</sup> Dr J. L. Phillips, Missionary to the Children of India. A Biographical Sketch by his Widow, completed and edited by W. J. Wintle. London: The Sabbath School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

<sup>3</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, 6d.

and *Addresses delivered at the Close of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church*,<sup>1</sup> admirable in contents, spirit, and style, by Dr John Hutchison, the Moderator; yet another edition, the eighth, of Carl Weizsäcker's much appreciated translation of the *New Testament*<sup>2</sup>; the first number of a new monthly journal, *Das Reich Gottes*,<sup>3</sup> under the editorship of Dr Johannes Lepsius, containing some good articles on *Evangelisation and the Church*, the question of *What the Koran teaches regarding Jesus*, and other subjects; four brief, unpretentious sermons, under the general title of *The Abiding Strength of the Church*,<sup>4</sup> by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., dealing with the desirability of unity with a view to the more effectual working of Christian institutions; the eighth volume, viz., *The Acts to Revelation*,<sup>5</sup> completes the beautiful Eversley edition of the *Holy Bible*—an edition which does the greatest credit alike to the good taste of the editor, Mr M'Kail, the enterprise of the publishers, the Messrs Macmillan, and the careful work of the Glasgow University Press; a short pamphlet by the Rev. Cuthbert Routh,<sup>6</sup> reprinted from *The Churchman* of April 1898, in which an attempt is made to rehabilitate the old hypothesis that Ahasuerus and Darius are to be identified with Astyages and his son Cyaxares II.; the *Sunday School Red Book*,<sup>7</sup> a manual of instruction and advice for superintendents, by Mr F. F. Belsey, Chairman of the Council of the Sunday School Union, giving much shrewd, sensible counsel in terse, pointed terms; a new and revised edition of A. Huck's very careful and useful *Synopsis of the first three Evangelists*,<sup>8</sup> which is provided with three appendices, giving the Old Testament Quotations in the Synopsis, the Johannine parallels, and a valuable table of Parallels and Doublets in the Synoptists; a story by Kate W. Hamilton, entitled *The Parson's Proxy*,<sup>9</sup> simple in conception, healthsome in tone, and pleasantly told; a small volume on *The Great Secret*,<sup>10</sup> by Dr Francis Edward Clark, Pre-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1898. 8vo, pp. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Das Neue Testament übersetzt. Achte, Verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 471.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. Price, M.4 per annum.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 65. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 408. Price, 5s.

<sup>6</sup> "Darius, Son of Ahasuerus of the Seed of the Medes." London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 8.

<sup>7</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 116. Price, 1s. net.

<sup>8</sup> Synopse der drei Ersten Evangelien, Bearbeitet von A. Huck, Zweite, durch Einen Anhang vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 191.

<sup>9</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>10</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, 1s.

sident of the United Society of Christian Endeavour and of the World's Christian Endeavour Union, in which some plain, pointed, and discreet counsels are given on health, beauty, happiness, friend-making, common sense, success, and what it is to practise the presence of God—a good and useful book for the young; a pamphlet by the Rev. Dr Jamieson on *Nature and God; God and the Divine Personalities*,<sup>1</sup> in which an attempt is made not only to exhibit the God who is behind Nature, but to make “the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity less mysterious,” there being appendices also on Spencerism, Natural Selection, and Faustus Socinus on the Person of Christ, which are of some interest; a pamphlet also by the Rev. Robert Tuck, B.A., reprinted from the magazine *The New Orthodoxy*, dealing in a reverent and suggestive way with *The Supreme Scenes of our Lord's Life*,<sup>2</sup> viz., Gethsemane as Soul-Triumph Won, Calvary as Soul-Triumph Tested, and Olivet as Soul-Triumph acknowledged; a timely, sympathetic, and unambitious sketch of the noble life of *Frances E. Willard*,<sup>3</sup> by Florence Witts.

In the April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Professor Jacob Cooper, of New Brunswick, writes on *Creation; or, the Transmutation of Energy*. The position which he states is this:—“The act of Creation . . . is the change of spiritual energy into its equivalent mechanical force, and this is transmuted farther until it becomes embodied in matter for its phenomenal action. God was from all eternity all in all; the only substance, essence, power, intelligence, goodness, combined; The Many united in the absolute One. He contains within Himself potentially whatever was at any time, past, present, or future, in spiritual or material form. For whatever He could do by his almighty power was actually summed up in His being. Therefore, any change of form that this might be made to assume—and it could be made to assume any by His determination—was simply a transmutation, a change of form, a materialising and localising that which already existed in Him.” By this theory, Professor Cooper thinks the doctrines of revealed religion “come into complete harmony with the fundamental principles of science.” The same number contains an article on *The New Chronology of Paul's Life* by Professor George H. Gilbert of Chicago. It criticises Professor Ramsay's idea that a fixed point for the chronology of Paul's life may be found in Acts xx. 6-11, and examines at some length the views of Harnack, Holtzmann, and M'Giffert. It pronounces the narrative of Tacitus unworthy to be preferred to the testimony of Josephus. It aims

<sup>1</sup> Tracts for the Times. No. II. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 8vo, pp. 39.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 2d.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143.

at showing the internal and the external evidence to be in favour of the "latter third of the sixth decade as the period in which Felix was succeeded by Festus," and the year 58 as more probable than the year 60. So it puts Paul's conversion at 32, his work in Ephesus at 52-55, his arrest in Jerusalem in the winter of 55-56, his arrival at Rome in the early part of 59. With regard to the death of Paul Professor Gilbert thinks that the evidence is against connecting it with the persecution of Nero in the summer of 64. The exact date cannot, he thinks, be determined. But he concludes that we may "with a high degree of probability" assign the Apostle's martyrdom to "the last three or four years of Nero's reign, that is, to the period between 65 or 66 and 68." An interesting feature of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is the place given to critical and sociological notes. These are well done.

Under the able direction of Mr G. F. Stout, of the University of Aberdeen, *Mind* well maintains the high position which it won for itself years ago among Philosophical Quarterlies. The April number<sup>1</sup> is an excellent one. The Critical Notices are always done with incisive ability, and those in this number are no exception to the rule. There is a particularly good review of C. Lloyd Morgan's important book on *Habit and Instinct*. Professor James Seth reviews Ladd's *Philosophy of Knowledge*; George A. Coe takes Browne's *Theory of Thought and Knowledge* in hand. There are also reviews of Nettleship's *Philosophical Lectures and Remains*, and Émile Durkheim's *Le Suicide*. The digests of Philosophical Periodicals are very useful. In addition to articles of a severer order on the *Regulae of Descartes*, the *Paradox of Logical Inference*, &c., and an important paper on *Freedom*, by G. F. Moore, we get another, of a less technical kind and of considerable interest, on *Mandeville's Place in English Thought*, by Norman Wilde.

The last number of *The New World* which has come to hand is that for March.<sup>2</sup> There are some excellent articles, and a large number of book notices. These last are done with much care, and help one to just judgments. Among the more notable books reviewed are Seth's *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, Crozier's *History of Intellectual Development*, M'Giffert's *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Moulton and Geden's *Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, De la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, and Moore's *Judges*. Mr Charles F. Dole writes on *Truth and how we come to know it*, in which he criticises specially the views of Dr John Fiske as given in his address upon "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." There is an incisive paper by Henry Copley Greene

<sup>1</sup> London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 8s.

<sup>2</sup> Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 8s.

on Walt Whitman under the title of "A Satyr Aspires." M. Bonet-Maury gives a very interesting account of "The Protestant Faculty of Theology of the Paris University," with sketches of Pressensé, Bersier, Lichtenberger, Sabatier, Massebieau, Ménegoz, Stapfer, Vernes, and other teachers who have acquired some distinction. There is a frank and discriminating paper by J. T. Sutherland on *Christian Missions in India*, which takes on the whole a hopeful view. It concludes that the work of Christian missions will increase, but that the extent of the increase will depend largely on "the question whether or not the missions broaden their theological basis." The two articles, however, that will probably attract most notice among biblical students are those by Mr F. C. Conybeare on "The Place of Prophecy in Christianity" and Professor C. H. Toy on "Esther as a Babylonian Goddess." The former deals, among other things, with the Manichean movement in Carthage in the last years of the fourth century, the controversy between Faustus and Augustine, and the extent to which early Christianity, as Mr Conybeare phrases it, "hinged upon prophecy." Mr Conybeare overstates his case, as he is accustomed to do. But his paper is worth reading. Professor Toy's article, which is full of learning, and shows the true critical faculty, reviews the evidence for and against the idea that the Feast of Purim is the modification of a Babylonian festival, and that the story of Esther represents a Babylonian myth." He thinks there is much to favour the theory, and that there is no equally satisfactory explanation of the names of the chief personages. But he admits that there are serious gaps in the evidence. His general conclusion is sufficiently guarded. "The explanation of the Esther story above described," he says, "is hardly more than an hypothesis. It rests mainly on certain similarities in proper names, and on the accordence of the story of triumph over enemies in the Book of Esther, with a well-established mythical theme, and with the procedures in some ancient festivals. Certain features of the biblical narrative remain unaccounted for. It is possible that future investigations and discoveries may throw light on points now obscure, and, till additional information is forthcoming, we may reserve opinion on the origin of the story. The narrative, notwithstanding its improbabilities, may prove to be based on real history; but, in that case, its obvious embellishments will probably have to be traced to some such sources as are mentioned above."

The June number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* contains a remarkably interesting paper by Hofprediger F. W. Schubart on *Johann Arndt*, giving important particulars, some of them little understood, of his life and work in Anhalt. Ober-Konsistorialrat Wiesinger contributes a very readable article on the *Preparation*



*and Delivery of the Sermon.* Among other things we have a study of our Lord's use of Scripture by Professor Engelhardt of Munich, and a short examination of the difficult paragraph in Ephesians iv. 8-10, in which Licentiate Bröse of Leipzig says some strong things on the interpretation of the "descent" as referring to the Incarnation.

The April number of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* has, as usual, a large number of careful and informing book reviews. Among the larger articles we may refer to one by Professor Gerhard Vos on *The Modern Hypothesis and Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*. The prophets dealt with are Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. The general drift of the paper is that, in the newest phase of prophetic criticism, "little or no objective evidence is adduced to show that the assumed redaction or expansion of the ancient prophecies actually took place"; that "too often the excisions from the prophetic text are not justified, nor is their justification seriously attempted on internal grounds"; and that "the treatment of the prophetic, which is fast growing fashionable, may be aptly characterised as *exegesis by means of criticism under the forced application of certain literary canons concerning the lucidity, straightforwardness, and general perfection of the prophetic style.*" The more important material which Professor Vos regards as "affected by the new method of critical procedure" is examined at length. In the same number the Rev. John Macpherson gives a sympathetic estimate of the *Character of the Westminster Confession*. Professor Henry Dosker has an elaborate study of *John of Barneveldt*, in which he contests Motley's representation of the great Dutch statesman as a martyr for a great principle, and endeavours to show that "the Advocate would have established, had he been able, a *jus in sacra*, a Caesaropapism, a political papism, utterly at variance with the liberty of the Church." The same number contains a paper by Professor Orr on Dr M'Giffert's *Apostolic Christianity*, and a learned discussion of the *Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics* by Professor Wm. Brenton Greene.

In the third number of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Litterature Religieuses* for the year the Abbé Loisy continues his interesting study of *John the Baptist* and his message. M. Alfred Boudrillart gives a first paper on the ideas prevalent in the fourteenth century on the Pope's right of intervention in political matters, and M. Paul Fournier writes on certain controversies on the Origins of the Decree of Gratian.

*The Biblical World* continues to prosper and to maintain its interest under the editorship of Professor W. R. Harper. Among the Notes and Opinions we find some sensible remarks on Goldwin



Smith's *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, and on Van Manen's defence of himself and his party. There is a brief but appreciative article on the late Dr William F. Moulton. Dr Arthur Fairbanks also contributes an instructive paper on the *Influence of the Life and Teaching of Jesus on the Doctrine of God*. "The thoughts of Jesus in respect of God," he says, "may be gathered around the two words *King* and *father*." This he shows to be rendered antecedently probable by "a consideration drawn from the history of religion in general," and to be borne out by the history of the religion of Revelation in particular. Patristic and Scholastic Theology, he thinks, made God simply "thinking substance." But the Reformation was "a return to Paul, and a return to Paul is, on the whole, a return to Christ." So it is to the Reformation we are indebted for the richer and fuller doctrine of God. For the Reformation brought again into the light the true relation between the kingliness and the fatherliness of God which had been obscured for a thousand years.

In a volume bearing the general title of *Some Bible Problems*,<sup>1</sup> Dr D. W. Simon, Principal of the United College, Bradford, brings together a number of papers dealing mostly with Old Testament questions. These papers originally formed two courses of Lectures which were delivered, the one in 1896-97 in connection with a Church in Halifax, the other in June 1897 to the students of the Bala-Bangor Independent College. They will be welcome to many in this form. They are eight in number, and of these five are occupied directly with special questions of the Old Testament. Of the rest one discusses the "Philosophy of Revelation and Inspiration," in which an attempt is made to explain the *modus operandi* in *theopneustia* and *revelation* by applying the great biological law "to which man like all things, which are designed to grow and develop, is subject," and which "requires that he shall be acted on in a fitting way by a fitting environment, whilst he in turn reacts fittingly." Another takes up the question of the "Right way to approach the Bible." In this paper Dr Simon first states and examines two views which he contrasts as opposite extremes. One is the theory of Dr A. A. Hodge of Princeton, which holds by the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures in the original autographs. The other is the explanation given by Professor Sanday, who affirms that "inspiration is real and no fiction, a direct objective action of the Divine upon the human," but distinguishes sharply between three great degrees of inspiration—the primary inspiration of the prophets proper, and a kind of secondary and tertiary inspiration belonging

<sup>1</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 285. Price, 5s.

to the priests, psalmists, wise men, and historians. Both these views are criticised with much acuteness, though Dr Sanday's is admitted to come very much nearer the truth than the other. Dr Simon then takes the current description of the Bible as the *literature of the Israelites* for his starting point. He holds it necessary to a "right appreciation of the Bible and its strangely composite contents always to bear in mind that the life it records and reflects is the outcome of a prolonged, ever varying interaction between God and free men of the Semitic race, with all the passions, strengths, and weaknesses of Semites, and exposed to all the temptations and perils incident to the period during which they lived, and to the geographical position in which they were placed." He asks us further to remember that the Israelites never constituted, morally or religiously, a homogeneous whole; that God, in giving them laws and institutions, never treated them as a *tabula rasa*; that the agents employed by God were selected from the nation itself, and therefore were such as the nation itself provided; and that the entire Divine co-operation was adapted to their varying needs, circumstances, and conduct—all, of course, within the limits of Divine fitness, righteousness and truth." He also points out very justly that, if we accept the definition of the Bible as the literature of the Jews, it does not follow that we must suppose it to "comprise all the writings they ever produced, or that, taken as it stands, it fully reflects and enshrines every phase of their life." It is to be taken as a collection of writings which, now in one form then in another, reflect and exhibit the process of the making of Israel, considered from the double point of view, first, of the part taken therein by God and man; and then of the goal towards which it tended." He agrees so far with Dr Sanday in affirming different degrees of inspiration. He distinguishes between a central group of inspired personalities, and others from whom come books, such as Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, &c., holding only a secondary place. The view which he presents here is in accordance with the position which he has stated at length in his suggestive volume on *The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life*.

There is a valuable paper on *Evolution and the Fall of Man*, the object of which is to show, that the account which the best science of the day gives of the actual course of man's history points to a *break* in the process of evolution. The Bible view of man, he contends, is not inconsistent, therefore, with the scientific, and the Bible tradition of the Fall "strictly speaking is not itself a problem, but the solution of a problem." This is a paper well worth reading.

The sections of Dr Simon's book which seem least satisfactory

are those in which he deals with "Criticism and Israelitish Literature," and "Criticism and Israelitish History." Here he gives a digest of the results of criticism, especially of the extremer order, which is useful. He also says some good and pointed things on certain of these results and their general effect on one's idea of the Bible. But the tone is strained, and there is too much of the spirit of fear and suspicion. One does not easily see how Dr Simon can accommodate the large view which he takes of the Bible as a literature with the attitude of jealousy and apprehension which he assumes towards the Higher Criticism as it appears in the writings of our best scholars.

A different kind of paper is the one with which the book opens. Its subject is *The Israelites and their Neighbours, with special Reference to Religious Thought and Life*. It deals with the period between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 100. It shows how important this period is, both because it is that of the "Rise, growth, culmination, decadence, and final overthrow of the Hebrew nation," and because it is probably the most stirring period in the general history of the world. He gives a vivid picture of the way in which four great races, the Turanian, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Hamitic, "inhabiting a huge irregular belt of the earth's surface," were engaged during these momentous centuries in "developing elaborate constitutions and religious systems, and expressing their varied life in manifold literary, artistic, and other forms." In this he makes good use of the most recent investigations, and shows himself in sympathy with Professor Hommel and M. J. de Morgan in the claims or concessions which they make in behalf of the supreme antiquity of the Babylonian civilisation. He then institutes a particular comparison between the thought and life of the Israelites on the one hand, and those of the Egyptians and the Babylonians on the other. This is done at some length and with much care. It leads up finally to the question—How is the exceptional career of Israel to be explained? The question is one for the philosophical historian as well as for the theologian. The problem, as Dr Simon puts it, is this—Why did the Israelites, starting where their neighbours the Egyptians and Babylonians, not to refer to others of their contemporaries, started, grow into an ever truer and intenser appreciation of sin on the one hand, and, on the other, into an ever fuller realisation of the divine love, whilst the rest of the world degenerated instead of advancing? The only adequate answer to this question, he argues, is the answer which the Israelites themselves have given. "They take no credit to themselves for the difference, although they clearly saw that it existed. They ascribe it to the saving action of God."

This is a paper that one has great satisfaction in reading. There is much else in the volume that is equally good. It has the stamp of a vigorous and independent mind. It is a book that sets one a thinking.

The series of *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie* has reached its second year. The editors, Professor Schlatter of Berlin and Professor Cremer of Greifswald, are to be congratulated on the success which has attended their efforts thus far. The series was introduced by Professor Schlatter's interesting contribution, *Der Dienst des Christen in der älteren Dogmatik*, to the merits of which we referred at the time of its publication. The first year included other publications of considerable interest, among which we may mention Professor Cremer's monograph on the "Christian Doctrine of the Attributes of God." The second year has also opened well. We have before us a treatise by Lic. Theol. Moritz Lauterburg on the *Begriff des Charisma*,<sup>1</sup> in which the whole question of "gifts" is carefully considered in its New Testament position, its relation to grace, and its meaning for practical theology. This *brochure* raises some questions which deserve consideration, and puts several things in a suggestive way. The second issue for 1898 is by the hand of Professor W. Schmidt. Its subject is the *Teaching of the Apostle Paul*.<sup>2</sup> It deals first and very briefly with the Sources of Paul's doctrine. It then takes up in order the particular teaching first of the four Primary Epistles, next that of the Thessalonian Epistles, and the Apostle's discourses on Mars Hill, then that of the Epistles of the Captivity, and finally that of the Pastorals. The topics to which most space is given are the righteousness of God, the Pauline view of sin, death, grace, the Person of Christ, and the fellowship which we have with God in Christ. The question of what Paul meant by "the righteousness of God" naturally receives the first attention of the writer. Professor Schmidt opposes the view expressed by Th. Häring in his pamphlet of 1896. He takes its presupposition to be the exclusion of every form of an *ιδία δικαιοσύνη*, its proper correlate to be *σωτηρία*, and its sense to be not God's "freisprechendes Richterwalten," as Häring holds, but a quality or disposition of man, a *human* righteousness which comes from God. We cannot say that he is very successful in the proof which he adduces for this interpretation. Neither is it much better with what he says of the Pauline doctrine of *death*. Here he is in antagonism with Weiss, Godet, Meyer, and others of our best exegetes, and commits himself

<sup>1</sup> Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Die Lehre des Apostels Paulus. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 125.

to a limited subjective sense which will not fit, we believe, the whole breadth of Paul's idea. But there are other discussions which are more satisfactory. This is especially the case with those on the Person of Christ,—the idea of his Lordship, his pre-existence, &c. In dealing with the Thessalonian Epistles he expresses the opinion that the notion of an ἀποκατάστασις is excluded by the paragraph in 2 Thess. i. 6-9. There are interesting remarks also on the question of a development in Paul's doctrine. There is something to be learnt from this acute treatise, even when it provokes dissent.

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**Record of Select Literature.**

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## The Paulicians.

*The Key of Truth: a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia.*

*The Armenian text edited and translated, with illustrative documents and Introduction, by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. cxcvi. 204. Price, 15s. net.*

THIS is probably the most important theological publication of the year. Such an estimate, touching what at first sight would seem to be a book of rather obscure historical or antiquarian interest, may strike the reader as extravagant. Yet even within the compass of a scanty review a *prima facie* case for its justice may perhaps be made out. At any rate all must concede that it is far the most significant of the remarkable series of discoveries with which the editor's name is already associated. The *Key of Truth* has in fact a threefold claim on our attention. In it a vanished Church springs again to historical life. "The Paulicians are at last," as Gibbon hoped, "able to plead for themselves": and the effect is like that of the publication of Cromwell's *Letters* at the hands of Carlyle. Next, early Armenian Christianity for the first time emerges into something like the light of history and enters into definite historical relations—a result due to the sagacity and wide learning of our editor. Lastly, floods of light break forth in all directions upon that aspect of primitive Christendom which is sometimes called Adoptionist. And we have a most suggestive preliminary study of its many ramifications supplied to our hand in the exhaustive Introduction prefixed to the *Key* itself. Nor does Mr Conybeare leave us without the means of controlling his statements, derived from authorities many of which were before not even names to the bulk of historical scholars. With characteristic thoroughness and candour he gives us nine Appendices, covering some sixty pages, which contain extracts from Armenian and Greek sources between the eighth and twelfth centuries, as well as the Epistle to the Armenians by Macarius of Jerusalem (c. 330 A.D.) and the Provençal Ritual of the Albigeois, as extant in a thirteenth century MS. of Lyons. In fact this noble *editio princeps* of the Paulician Church-book is a very "Corpus Paulicianorum" in the widest sense, and a mine of information from which students of Christian thought, both ancient and mediaeval, may draw materials for many a day. The Introduction, both text and foot-notes, is replete both with valuable references and with *obiter dicta* of insight and much



acuteness, which, even though they may sometimes need modification on further scrutiny, yet suggest most fruitful lines of research, and always in a living way. We will now proceed to describe the contents of the *Key*, and then to summarise certain conclusions scattered up and down the Introduction, which is rather unmethodical in form and so not free from some diffuseness and repetition.

At first sight the unique MS. on which our knowledge of the *Key of Truth* depends does not seem to promise anything very primitive. It lies in the Edjmiatzin Library, having been seized during the Inquisition of 1837 among the Thonraki of Akhaltzik in Russian Armenia, and claims only to have been written in 1782, in the province of Taron, the ancient centre of the *Thonraketzi* or Armenian branch of the Paulicians. Mr Conybeare identifies its scribe with a certain Ohannes<sup>1</sup> (John), originally an abbot in the neighbourhood of Karin, who, besides missionizing in the Khanus region, had ordained fourteen priests in the closing decades of the last century. This being so, we are thrown back on internal evidence for the date of its real composition. The opening address, in which a great Paulician missionary claims in responsible tones to give his "new-born children of the universal and Apostolic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ the holy milk, whereby ye may be nourished in the faith," affords some clue. He feels that he is writing by special inspiration, after that "for a long time past the Spirit of deception had shut up the Truth; as our Lord saith, The tares had suffocated it." This leader Conybeare identifies with Smbat, a scion of the Bagratuni, the ruling house in Thonrak, which showed itself hostile to the Græcizing "orthodox" Catholicos John of Owaiq in the ninth century. If this be correct, the *Key* and the Sacramentary it once incorporated (though this has practically disappeared among the 38 pages torn out, as specially obnoxious to the Inquisitors of 1837, by the owner of our MS.) were reduced to writing not later than c. 850 A.D. (and possibly two centuries earlier), at a time of revival in the Paulician cause, which had "for a long time past" been under a cloud. But it is almost certain that the substance of the work, especially in its liturgical parts, goes back indefinitely farther—a view that is supported by the more archaic style in which they seem to be cast.

<sup>1</sup> In this he may be quite right. But I cannot agree with him in making the fragment of the long colophon, which follows the short one giving the date of our MS., to be his handiwork. I would rather assign it to a much older Paulician leader, to whom may be due also certain marginal notes and considerable supplementary matter; this is borne out by the fact that the name Vahaguni seems an ancient rather than a modern clan name. The last paragraph in the Armenian text, which is not translated, is simply Mr Conybeare's appeal to Armenian readers to let him know, should they happen to come on a complete copy of the *Key*.

Nor can the work be regarded as representing a late eclectic type of church. "Everything grows organically out of the conception of Jesus as a man, not divine but created, and yet not like other men, since he was the new Adam, without sin. Purely human, though free from sin, Jesus came to John to be baptized in the Jordan when he had reached his thirtieth year. Then his sinless nature, which had triumphed over all temptations and kept all the Father's commandments, received its reward.<sup>1</sup> The Spirit of the Father descends on him, fills him with the Godhead, and invests him with authority; and a voice from heaven proclaims him to be the chosen Son in whom God is well pleased, and who, according to the older (?) form of the text in Luke, is on that day begotten by the Father. Then it was that Jesus received all the high prerogatives which raised him above ordinary humanity, though always without making him God and Creator.<sup>2</sup> For till then he had been, except in respect of his sinlessness, in no wise higher than Moses or Enoch. Filled with the spirit of adoption, the elect Christ is forthwith led up on to the mountain to enjoy for forty days the mystery of intercourse with the Father<sup>3</sup>; and this feast of divine converse to which, after baptism, Christ was at once admitted, is the archetype of the sacramental meal for the reception of which baptism qualifies us" (Introd. p. lxxxvii).

In the light of this we are prepared to find that Baptism—its idea, conditions, and ritual—takes up a large number of the extant sections of the *Key*. By baptism it understands adult baptism (in mature years, on the model of the only-born Christ, to whose image all derivative Christs<sup>4</sup> are to conform); and this in so exclusive a way as to make its polemic against the so-called Orthodox or Greek Church depend thereon. Most of this criticism

<sup>1</sup> Our editor rightly sees that the fundamental Christological idea is that of the *Shepherd* of Hermas. But he quite fails to see that to Hermas the Resurrection and Exaltation are the moment of crisis and reward (as in Phil. ii. 9 and the N.T. in general), and not the Baptism.

<sup>2</sup> It suggests an extreme antiquity for this mode of thought, that it is unaffected by the counter emphasis on the Resurrection as determinative, marking the Pauline writings, which they held in such high honour. It is continuous with the liberal Judæo-Christian piety of the (Syrian) *Teaching of the Apostles*.

<sup>3</sup> "When therefore he had pleased his increate and loved Father, at once the Spirit led him on to the mountain of temptation and admitted him into the mystery (or sacrament) of holy Godship. For forty days and forty nights he feasted on contemplation, on fellow-converse, and on the commandments of the heavenly Father, as is plain to us from the holy Gospels; and when his [Maker] took away the feasting and the fellow-converse from him, then he hungered" (*Key*, ch. v.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Et ille Christus, et nos Christi*, the motto of the Spanish Adoptionists.

has been torn out of our MS., as already explained. But we know from its own words that the *Key* made prior repentance so essential that it counts Repentance as one of the three ineffable and essential mysteries or sacraments, co-ordinate with baptism and participation in "the precious body and blood" of the "Saviour and Intercessor." Apparently this last was conceived as tantamount to feasting on Christ's living words, as Jesus had feasted on his Father's; and accordingly they observed it in an ordinary house and sitting at a common table, on principle (so Isaac Catholicos, p. lxxviii). A somewhat difficult question indeed arises as to whether they thought the elements underwent "change" when blessed by their Elect ones. Mr Conybeare discusses it carefully, and with due allowance for the more realistic modes of ancient thought, even in the most ethical and spiritual circles. But the question is complicated by the fact that the Sacramentary itself has been torn out, and that what remains on the point may not be part of the original *Key*, but a supplement added by a much later scribe. One thing, however, is clear—that they attached much importance in this, as in all their sacred acts, to the person of the officiating minister. It was, strictly, Christ distributing His essential life through true Christs, His kindred representatives, and to immature Christs or men anointed of the Spirit by baptism. They had but one ministerial order, that of those who had reached the full stature of Christship, both in spirituality and in the vicarious spirit. By these, as occasion or gift determined, the different functions of spiritual priesthood or apostleship were performed, and *ipso facto* gave the Elect one a specific title *ad hoc*.

And now the question of the particular document merges in the larger historical problem of the history and origins of Paulicianism. Our editor has discussed it with great care, and his conclusions are as follows:—The *Key of Truth* represents the crystallization of the faith and usages of the "old believers" of south-eastern Armenia, whose presence in that Church (especially in certain more rugged and sequestered districts) can be traced back, side by side with Christianity of a Nicene type, up to the beginnings of the latter, and then behind it in the Adoptionism of Archelaus, Bishop of Karkhar, in his Dialogue with Mani (c. 275-277 A.D.). It is safest perhaps to put on one side the imperfect orthodoxy of Gregory the Illuminator—whose works in their original form the later Armenian fathers 'would not willingly let live.' But the evidence of so representative a work as that of Archelaus, showing no consciousness that there was any other alternative Christology to Mani's save his own—taken along with the Epistle of Macarius (c. 325-335) on Armenian Christianity, certain letters of Basil of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (the centre of

Græcizing orthodox influences in Armenia<sup>1</sup>), Proclus *Ep. ad Armenios* in 435 A.D., and the Canons of Sahak (400-450)—amply proves the prevalence of Adoptionist or Paulician views in the Armenian Church of the third century.

In the fourth century this tendency was vigorously opposed by Basil of Cæsarea, when Arianism brought the Christological issue to the surface everywhere; and from the fifth century, Constantinople became the inspiring centre of persecuting measures against such "old believers." The advent of Islam brought some respite to the Paulicians, as to other victims of orthodox intolerance; and yet later the Iconoclastic movement gave their cause a fresh impulse, especially as Constantine V., nicknamed by his foes Copronymus, was probably one of themselves. But it was seemingly not till the middle of the ninth century that Paulicianism, which at no time ceased to be an element lurking in the Armenian Church (favoured by the independent clan organization under feudal chieftains) definitely assumed an organization outside, and in reciprocal hostility to, the Græcizing, quasi-orthodox (Monophysite) Church which stood in closer relation with Constantinople. And of this crisis Mr Conybeare views the *Key of Truth* as the outcome. He supposes that Baptism was now made, at least by Smbat<sup>2</sup> and the Paulicians, the crucial point; so that in turning their backs on adult Baptism the opposite party were held to have departed hopelessly from Apostolic Christianity, and so forfeited sacraments and orders. For this at least is absolutely clear, namely, that the Paulicians claimed complete continuity with the "universal and Apostolic Church" of earlier days. The last charge they would have admitted was one of innovation, the very thing with which they taxed their rivals. "They were probably the remnant of an old Judæo-Christian Church, which had spread up through Edessa into Siuniq and Albania." The name "Paulicians" itself was a nickname, probably denoting "the wretched Paulians" or adherents of Paul of Samosata, whose Adoptionism—the prepared soil of the later Nestorianism of the Syrians—was the typical expression to the Græco-Roman world of a form of Christology to which it was becoming definitely hostile.

But it had not been so from the beginning. Here Mr Conybeare's Manual and his consequent researches into the early Armenian Church, as to whose pre-Gregorian days the later

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John of Otrun (c. 720), whose tone is the usual "orthodox" one in this connection: in primis, incestuosæ Paulicianorum gregis sordescientes reliquiae objurgationem sane sustinuerunt a Nersete Catholico (probably Basil's ally).

<sup>2</sup> The reason why his name, and not that of the traditional Sergius (Tychicus of the Greek sources, figures in the present connection, is that we are here dealing with the Paulicianism of Eastern or non-Roman Armenia.

Armenian Fathers maintain a discreet silence or use most embarrassed language, give us new eyes to read between the lines of many old facts and to see their far-reaching significance as bearing out the Paulician claim that theirs was not a sectional but a universal Christianity. For from Syria (beginning with the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*), from Rome (notably in the *Shepherd of Hermas*), from North Africa (Tertullian, the pseudo-Cyprianic *De Montibus Sina et Zion* and *De Aleatoribus*, Lactantius, &c.), Spain (the Priscillianists and Adoptionists of the eighth century), the ancient British Church, the Rhine lands, certain parts of Asia Minor, as well as from Montanism in certain aspects—the Adoptionist type of Christology, with its characteristic emphasis on the Baptism as the true Birth-Day of the Christ, can make good its primitive standing. It is historically illegitimate to style an interpretation of the unique Sonship of Jesus the Christ so oecumenical and original, a heresy. To say that it is speculatively adequate is another thing. But to deny its historic status as an allowable Christian hypothesis is to shut one's eyes to Christian facts attested by Christian fruits. If two opinions on the point were possible before, they can hardly be so after the perusal of this work.

Much more remains to be said, both of the *Key* and its editor's Introduction. As regards the former we would only add, that the reader would do well to approach it through the admirably terse and clear summary of Paulicianism, on its side of usage rather than theology, furnished by the extracts from Isaac Catholicos, which our editor is justified in regarding as citations from some high Paulician authority. We may indeed regret that he has not put these extracts more into the forefront of his discussion. Their note is virtually this: "Christ did (not) do so and so, therefore Christians should (not) do the like." As to the Introduction, one can only name its serious contributions to the following topics: the history of Christmas and its date (originally January 6); the origin of the Forty Days of Lent (once the immediate sequel of the anniversary of January 6, the festival of Christ's Baptism); the origin and significance of the *Fish* as an ecclesiastical symbol; the spread of the ideas *Original* and *Actual Sin*; animal sacrifice in the Armenian Church; various superstitious practises of the same, as also of the Greek Church (e.g. the use of *myron* for making things holy in a realistic sense); the history of asceticism and "monkery"; the origin and diffusion of the so-called Western Text; the true history and tenets of the mediæval persecuted Churches akin to the Paulicians, especially the Cathars and the Bogomiles. In touching on so many points as he does in his Introduction, Mr Conybeare has not escaped making mistakes.<sup>1</sup> But both in tone and accuracy

this piece of work seems to show a great advance on anything of the kind from this keen and strenuous writer's pen. And he may justly doubt whether his "main conclusions in regard to the character of the Paulician Church can be touched." *E tenebris lux.*

VERNON BARTLET.

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### The Making of Religion.

*By Andrew Lang, M.A., LL.D. London: Longmans & Co.*  
8vo, pp. 380. Price, 12s.

IN the dedication to the Principal of the University of St Andrews with which the book opens, Mr Lang says that "these chapters may be taken as representing the Gifford Lectures delivered by me, though they contain very little that was spoken from Lord Gifford's chair." We are glad to receive them whether they were actually spoken or not, for a careful perusal of them has wrought in us the conviction that they are of great significance for the subject with which they deal. Ever since the publication of Dr Tylor's great work on *Primitive Culture*, it has been taken for granted that the earliest belief of man with regard to religion is animism. From Dr Tylor has proceeded the notion that worship of ancestors is one of the most ancient forms of religious belief. No doubt in his hands ancestor-worship is only a specialised form of animism. Mr Herbert Spencer parts company with Dr Tylor at this point, and maintains that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion. Mr Grant Allen has written a large book in support of the theory of Spencer. In truth we meet the theory everywhere, and it is assumed that the development of religious belief is on the lines indicated by Tylor.

It was pointed out by Mr Spencer that animism or the belief which endows everything in nature with the vitality and unruly affections of man was inconsistent with the fact that the higher animals were constrained by the struggle for existence to discriminate between the living and the non-living, and if man did not discriminate between these, some reason must be found for it. Men are wiser than animals, and if they do attribute the qualities of life to the non-living it is because some spirit is supposed by him to have taken possession of the non-living object. Evidently

<sup>1</sup> Among major matters of interpretation one may observe that he seems to mistake the significance of the *consolamentum*, following on *melioramentum*, among the Cathars, which may well be the rite of full Christian initiation following the *traditio symboli* (here the Lord's Prayer), itself the last stage in the qualification of catechumens (cf. Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*).



this is a relevant observation, and neither Dr Tylor nor his followers have dealt with it adequately. As a matter of fact the lower races of men have discriminated between the living and the non-living, and if they worshipped stocks and stones, it was because they imagined stocks and stones—that is, those stocks and stones actually worshipped—to have some qualities beyond those patent to the senses. What is the origin of that belief? Clearly animism will not explain why some things are singled out from others, and regarded in a special way. Mr Spencer does endeavour to give an explanation, Dr Tylor gives none.

It is from another point of view that Mr Lang dissents from the current anthropological view. He is opposed to the view of Dr Tylor, and to the view of Spencer. He seeks to set the evidence in another light, and the evidence he uses is mainly derived from anthropological researches. A proper handling of anthropological evidence, he thinks, leads to the inference that among the earlier races of mankind there is a persistent belief in a Supreme Being, who created the world and is concerned in its moral government. He maintains that this fact has not been recognised by anthropologists, at all events it has not been treated with that respect which its importance demands. To us this is the most significant part of this treatise. He produces ample evidence of the existence, among the lower races, of the notion of a Supreme Being, who makes for righteousness. Waitz had laid stress on this fact, and traces of it are to be found in the testimonies of the beliefs of savage races collected by Dr Tylor, but the full significance of the belief was not recognised until it was signalised by Mr Lang. Mr Lang does not attempt to account for the existence of the belief, he does not advocate the theory of a primeval revelation, he leaves the question of the origin of the belief without discussion, and lays stress on the fact of its existence. He shows that the existence of this fact is inconsistent with the animistic account of the genesis of the conception of God, and also inconsistent with the view that the gods were non-moral. While he does not venture to account for the origin of these beliefs, he is careful to select them from sources which could not have been influenced by contact with higher races. However they may be explained, the hypothesis of contact with higher races is not tenable. We must refer the reader to the book for the evidence, and simply say that he has proved that the belief is there and that it is of native growth.

To this we shall return later, but our sense of the importance of the result has led us to dislocate the order of the treatise. It is the second part of the book which we have put first. In the first part of the book Mr Lang asks, Does animism really take account of the basis of fact which lies at the foundation of savage beliefs?



Is it true that dreams, waking visions, apparitions, hallucinations, and delusions of every kind, are the only source of the beliefs in the life after death, in wandering souls, haunting ghosts, spirits embodied and disembodied? Is it true that these animistic beliefs were gradually purified till they rose to the monotheistic creeds presently the belief of the most civilised portion of mankind? Mr Lang boldly challenges the accepted theory along the whole line. There is something more than delusion in these primitive beliefs. He contends that the primitive beliefs in sorcerers, witches, medicine men, soothsayers, and other wonder-workers, cannot be accounted for by assuming that the whole business was one of deception, delusion, and superstition. It is only lately that modern science has seriously turned its attention to the study of what he calls supernormal phenomena. Already there are some facts discovered that must make the man of science pause ere he sets the whole matter down as pure credulity. It would seem that the savage thaumaturgist was acquainted with certain faculties and qualities of human nature, to the existence of which science has been wilfully blind. In this connection Mr Lang has an amusing and incisive criticism of the attitude of David Hume, who is rightly taken as the typical sceptic. It is well worth reading, though on it we do not dwell. It is likely that the prodigies which have been regarded as tricks, or impostures, may have been feats of clairvoyance, telepathy, hypnotic suggestion; or the source of such feats may lie in that unexplored psychical region of which science is just becoming aware. At all events Mr Lang has made a good case for inquiry, and, ere we set these feats down as pure imposture, we ought to make an exhaustive study of similar phenomena in existence at the present time. To foretell events, to find lost property, to show in a crystal a far distant scene, are facts to be inquired into; the man who does such things may have a supernormal power. Why should not science investigate, without prejudice, such phenomena? If it is claimed that supernormal faculties are at work both in savage and civilised peoples, if the gates of distance are sometimes said to be opened, and people are aware of events taking place many miles away, if men looking into crystals say they see visions, well these are matters for dispassionate scientific investigation. The discoveries of the Psychical Society seem to have been anticipated long ago by primitive speculation.

Thus Mr Lang makes out a case for inquiry. A basis of fact may be found for supernormal phenomena, and as science is interested in all facts, it ought to be interested in this set of facts too. Apart from this part of the book, the main interest lies in that part in which the author comes into close conflict with the views of

Spencer and of Tylor. He shows that they have unduly simplified the problem they had to solve, by neglecting a number of relevant facts. "Anthropology has simplified her problem by neglecting or ignoring her facts. While the real problem is to account for the evolution out of ghosts of the eternal, creative moral god of the plain man, the existence of such a god or being in the creeds of the lowest savages is by anthropologists denied, or left out of sight, or accounted for by theories contradicted by facts, or at best, is explained away as a result of European or Islamite influences. Now, as the problem is to account for the evolution of the highest conception of God, as far as the conception exists among the most backward races, the problem can never be solved while that highest conception of God is practically ignored" (p. 175). Having examined in detail the attempts to evolve the idea of gods out of ghosts, Mr Lang concludes thus: "It would appear then, on the whole, that the question of the plain man to the anthropologist, 'Having got your idea of spirit into the savage mind, how does he develop out of it what I call God?' has not been answered. God cannot be a reflection from human kings where there are no kings; nor a president elected out of a polytheistic society of gods where there is, as yet, no polytheism; nor an ideal first ancestor where men do not worship their ancestors; while, again, the spirit of a man who died, real or ideal, does not answer to the usual savage conception of the Creator. All this will become much more obvious as we study in detail the highest gods of the lowest races" (p. 186.)

He proceeds to study in detail the highest gods of the lowest races. A most interesting study it is. He is careful to select his examples from races which have not come into close contact with higher races, and also from that part of savage experience which is least likely to have been influenced by the higher races, even if there has been contact with them. Savages are exceedingly conservative, and such things as sacred hymns, sacred institutions, and religious mysteries are not likely to have been touched by any foreign influence. Taking his illustrations from these, Mr Lang has no difficulty in showing that there are beliefs in a creative, moral God among the very lowest races. It is impossible for us to summarise the evidence, and we shall not attempt to do so. We give the conclusion. "It seems impossible to point out any method by which low, chiefless, non-polytheistic, non-metaphysical savages (if such there be) evolved out of ghosts the eternal beings who made the world, and watched over morality. As the people themselves unanimously distinguish such beings from ghost-gods, I take it that such beings were never ghosts. Yet these high gods of low savages preserve from dimmest ages of the meanest culture the sketch of a

God which our highest religious thought can but fill up to its ideal" (p. 208).

Two chapters with the titles "Savage Supreme Beings" and "More Savage Supreme Beings" strengthen his position by fresh and varied evidence, chiefly drawn from African sources, and another chapter places alongside of the African examples a number of American Creators. These are of great interest in themselves, and strengthen the main contention of the book not a little. A most important question arises in this connection. If there are such high beliefs among low races, if they believe in a creative, powerful, moral God, how does it come to pass that they also believe in evil gods, and how came they to sink into such base beliefs and such grovelling practices as we know exist among them? It is a most important question, and one that raises great issues. It raises the whole question of evolution in that sense of the word which identifies evolution with progress. It raises in a fresh form the adequacy of the animistic interpretation of the phenomena. Mr Lang is not afraid to mention the word degeneration. Nor is he afraid to call the evolution of the ghost theory a form of degeneration. He has the courage of his convictions, and when we look at the trend of present speculation on these matters, he has need of courage. For, while many admit the fact of degeneration in the abstract, they deny its existence in almost all its practical applications. We quote, as it is only right to let Mr Lang speak for himself. "While Anthropology holds the certainly erroneous idea that the religion of the most backward races is always non-moral, of course she cannot know that there has, in fact, been great degeneration in religion (if religion began on the Australian and Andamanese level) wherever religion is non-moral or immoral. Again, Anthropology, while fixing her gaze on totems, on worshipped mummies, adored ghosts, and treasured fetishes, has not, to my knowledge, made a comparative study of the higher and purer religious ideas of savages. These have been passed by, with a word about credulous missionaries and Christian influences, except in the brief summary for which Mr Tylor found room. In this work I only take a handful of cases of the higher religious opinions of savages, and set them side by side for purposes of comparison. Much more remains to be done in this field. But the area covered is wide, the evidence is the best attainable, and it seems proved beyond doubt that the savages have 'felt after' a conception of a Creator higher than that for which they commonly get credit. Now, if that conception is original, or is very early (and nothing in it suggests lateness of development), then the other elements of their faith and practice are degenerate." Again replying to a question of Professor Menzies of St Andrews, "How could

all mankind forget a pure religion?" he says: "That degeneration I would account for by the attractions which animism, when once developed, possessed for the naughty natural man, 'the old Adam.' A moral creator in need of no gifts, and opposed to lust and mischief, will not help a man with love-spells, or with malevolent sendings of disease by witchcraft; will not favour one man above his neighbours, or one tribe above its rivals, as a reward for sacrifice which he does not accept, or as constrained by charms which do not touch his omnipotence. Ghosts and ghost-gods, on the other hand, in need of food and blood, afraid of spells and binding charms, are a corrupt, but to man a useful constituency. Man, being what he is, was certain to 'go a-whoring' after other gods, practically useful gods, ghost-gods, and fetishes which he could keep in his wallet or medicine bag. For these he was sure, in the long run, first to neglect his idea of his Creator; next perhaps to reckon Him, as only one, if the highest, of the venal rabble of spirits or deities, and to sacrifice to Him, as to them. And this is exactly what happened. If we are not to call it 'degeneration,' what are we to call it? It may be an old theory, but facts 'winna ding,' and are on the side of an old theory. Meanwhile, on the material plane, culture kept advancing, the crafts and arts arose; departments arose, each needing a god; thought grew clearer; such admirable ethics as those of the Aztecs were developed, and while bleeding human hearts smoked on every altar, Nezahautl conceived and erected a bloodless fane to 'the Unknown God, Cause of Causes,' without altar or idol; and the Inca, Yupanqui, or another, declared that 'Our Father and Mother, the Sun, must have a Lord'" (pp. 280-2).

Shortly put, his view is this—Animism supplanted Theism. He seems to have made out his case and supported his thesis with large and varied evidence. He proves that among the most backward peoples known to us, among men just emerged from the palaeolithic stage of culture, men who are involved in dread of ghosts, a religious Idea which certainly is not born of ghost-worship, for by these men ancestral ghosts are not worshipped, is found. "In their hearts, on their lips, in their moral training we find (however blended with barbarous absurdities, and obscured by rites of another origin), the faith in a being who created or constructed the world; who was beyond memory or conjecture; who is eternal; who makes for righteousness, and who loves mankind" (p. 292).

This remarkable conclusion, remarkable in every way, is further illustrated and strengthened by an examination of what he calls "Theories of Jehovah." It is an instructive and an amusing chapter. A brief statement of the various theories of Jehovah is followed by an examination of certain forms of the animistic hypo-

thesis as applied to account for the religion of Israel. He almost apologises for dealing with such a subject as he has no special knowledge of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, but, as some Oriental scholars have borrowed from popular anthropologists without much discrimination, he ventures to set them right. He points out that, be the origin of the belief what it may, Israel had in an early age the conception of the moral Eternal; that also at an early age that conception was contaminated and anthropomorphised, and that it was rescued, in a great degree, from this corruption, while always retaining its original aspect and sanction. "Why matters went thus in Israel and not elsewhere we know not, except that such was the will of God in the mysterious education of the world." Then follows an amusing examination of one of Mr Huxley's many theological adventures, which that adventurous person was wont to undertake to the astonishment of those who knew the subject. "For my part," Huxley had written, "I see no reason to doubt that the Israelites had passed through a period of mere ghost-worship, and had advanced through ancestor-worship and fetishism and totemism to the theological level at which we find them in the book of Judges and Samuel." Into the details of the criticism of this statement we do not enter, but when the statement of Mr Lang is made, Huxley cuts a poor figure. Nor does Mr Spencer fare any better at his hands. We take one more statement to show what Mr Lang claims to have done. Having summarised his argument up to a certain point, he thus proceeds: "We then traced the idea of such a Supreme Being through the creeds of races rising in the scale of material culture, demonstrating that he was thrust aside by the competition of ravenous but serviceable ghosts, ghost-gods, and shades of kingly ancestors, with their magic and their bloody rites. These rites and the animistic conception behind them were next, in rare cases, reflected or refracted back on the Supreme Eternal. Aristocratic institutions fostered polytheism with the old Supreme Being obscured, or superseded, or enthroned as Emperor-God or King-God. We saw how, and in what sense the old degeneration theory could be defined and defended. We observed traces of degeneration in certain archaic aspects of the faith in Jehovah; and we proved that (given a tolerably pure low savage belief in a Supreme Being), that belief must degenerate, under social conditions, as civilisation advanced. Next, studying what we may call the restoration of Jehovah under the great prophets of Israel, we noted that they and Israel generally were strangely indifferent to that priceless aspect of animism, the care for future happiness as conditioned by the conduct of the individual soul. That aspect had been neglected neither by the popular instinct nor the priestly and philosophic reflection of

Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Christianity, last, combined what was good in Animism, the care for the individual soul as an immortal spirit under eternal responsibilities, with the One righteous Eternal of prophetic Israel, and so ends the long, intricate and mysterious theological education of humanity" (pp. 328-9).

Such is the outline of this remarkable book, the most important that has yet proceeded from the pen of its versatile and accomplished author. Many reflections arise out of its perusal, and much might be said both in criticism and also in emphatic approval of much that he has advanced, but our space is exhausted, and we can only recommend the book to the careful study of the anthropologist and the theologian, as well as to the man in the street.

JAMES IVERACH.

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### Some New Testament Problems.

*By Arthur Wright, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1898.*

*Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 349. Price, 6s.*

THE book before us commences with the invocation, "Veni, Creator Spiritus," and belongs to a series called "The Churchman's Library." It is prefaced with a statement that "the chief use of the New Testament is and should always be devotional. We approach it best in the sanctuary." The author is the Rev. Arthur Wright, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge, and author some years ago of a work entitled *Synopsis of the Gospels*, in which, as in the present volume, he essays to solve the synoptic problem by reviving the old hypothesis of oral tradition, and by theories quite new and original regarding the mail-bags which arrived at Philippi while S. Luke was there.

Before proceeding to describe the distinctive portion of Mr Wright's work, it may be as well to review the position at present occupied by the oral hypothesis, and explain how it is that Dr Westcott is the only English scholar of any repute who maintains it. That in past years the hypothesis offered considerable attraction is of course well known. There were not a few people, wearied with the intricate puzzle of documentary theories, to whom it was a relief to throw the whole business into chancery as it were; but, as Dr Sanday has pointed out at length in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, the oral hypothesis was found to fail when worked out in particular, — the textual divergencies between the gospels and especially the variation in chronological arrangement proving, as he says, to be artificial and not such as might be occasioned by tricks of memory. Then again there were other people to whom the idea,



involved in all documentary theories, that one evangelist chopped and changed the inspired work of another appeared irreverent. But later reflection has shown the unreason of presuming that contemporaries of Mark and Luke, who like them had heard Apostles, would immediately regard what Mark and Luke had written as inviolable.

Above all, it has been realised that the phenomenon of the oral hypothesis is quite unparalleled, the supposed parallel which had been found in Rabbinical custom resulting from a confusion of thought, which treated the case of our Lord's actions as similar to the case of His sayings. That both His sayings and traditions of His actions were for a time handed down orally nobody questions. But while in the case of sayings there was from the beginning a prototype to conform to, there was, of course, in the case of narrative, no prototype at all, and all analogy shows that in such a case verbal uniformity would establish itself only so far as the point of a narrative required some particular form of expression. Uniformity is never produced in such cases of prose by mere repetition, however continuous. Two schoolboys writing down the oft-told story of S. Gregory and the Slaves, would agree in nothing but "Non Angli sed Angeli." In the case of the immemorial story of "Jack the Giantkiller" they would not agree at all. In short, there is nothing in Rabbinical literature or elsewhere parallel to the amazing phenomenon imagined, that a fully detailed consecutive prose history of a series of events like our S. Mark was handed down orally in fixed form—a history of events the importance of which in no way depended on the exact terms of expression.

With regard to this last point, let us suppose for the moment that besides laying great stress on the general fact of our Lord's miraculous power, as the Apostles undoubtedly did, for it was a proof of divine favour (Acts ii. 22 ; x. 38), they did actually think it proper for some reason or other that believers should learn by heart certain exact accounts of the miracles with minute picturesque detail such as S. Mark gives so frequently. Supposing this, how would the Apostles proceed? Mr Wright all unconsciously supplies the answer, with his example of children in Ning-po, China, who can repeat the Gospels by heart. How did these children learn? From a book. And how did the early Christians learn? Mr Wright replies that they learnt from the catechists who had learnt from an Apostle. And how did the Apostle teach himself? To this Mr Wright returns no answer, for the only way in which a man can get by heart a verbally fixed statement of his own recollections as to a long series of events, is to start by taking up his pen and writing his recollections down.

Such are some of the initial difficulties in the way of the oral



hypothesis, conducing to the result which Mr Wright resents so strongly that his re-statement of the oral theory has hitherto received but scant consideration. It remains to speak of the new and original views with which he comes to the support of that theory; and here it will be better to describe than to criticise. Let us with Mr Wright throw ourselves into S. Luke's study at Philippi; for this description of S. Luke's study, already given in a previous volume, and here again and again repeated (see pp. 7, 19, 100, 105), forms the real centre-point of Mr Wright's system. Some of the Matthæan Logia, so we find, "reached S. Luke overland," and, existing only orally, had got slightly twisted during the transit. Other Logia "reached S. Luke by sea, enclosed in letters from Palestine," "some certainly in Aramaic"; and these, as S. Luke had no note as to their chronological position, were pasted into his work where he thought they would fit best. The remaining Logia never reached S. Luke at all. "This supposition accounts for all the facts." Similarly with regard to the so-called Petrine tradition, presented in our Second Gospel, of which about half is reproduced in our Third. This half reproduced represents, according to Mr Wright, a wave of oral tradition which set out towards S. Luke when only half completed. As some verses of this wave involve verses that are omitted, we are told that these compromising verses reached S. Luke fragmentarily enclosed in letters from Rome,— "these scraps were sent to him by his correspondents" (p. 260). If it is objected that some of the compromising verses and some of the omitted verses which they involve (as, *e.g.*, Luke xxiii. 35 and Mark xv. 27, 30) would naturally be enclosed in the same letter, the answer is ready that the letters which reached S. Luke were mutilated. The voracity of ship cockroaches is notorious.

Mr Wright is perfectly serious, and the immense amount of patient labour evident from his books is a guarantee of his good faith. It is therefore with some curiosity that one examines the problem of how he has reached such remarkable results. We have not to go far to seek. Owing, it would seem, to enthusiasm of temperament, he is not always able to distinguish things that are from things that are not.

For example, a man whom I knew seven years ago wrote as follows :—

"There are certain words and phrases unmistakably S. Luke's own in the earlier part of Acts, but there are at least four times as many in the later. The second half of Acts is mainly original work of S. Luke's . . . no later hand has gone over his."

On which Mr Wright has commented :—

"Mr Badham says that S. Mark wrote the Acts."

At the same time, I endeavoured to prove, reasonably or unreason-

ably, that with the exception of a dozen sections, which were inserted later, S. Matthew was the earliest of the Gospels ; and in my recent book, *S. Mark's Indebtedness to S. Matthew* (see p. 130), this proposition was repeated exactly and precisely as clearly as language allows. On which Mr Wright comments :—

“ Mr Badham now produces another book, *S. Mark's Indebtedness*, in which he *essays to prove in the teeth of his former assertions, that S. Matthew's Gospel was written first, and that S. Mark's was generally an abbreviation thereof*. Unfortunately, he does not, like Stesichorus, begin with the palinode *οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυπος λόγος οὗτος*, etc.

I make no complaint of Mr Wright's making a statement the diametrical opposite of fact, but simply call attention to it, as helping to explain how he has got to his present standpoint. Evangelists and Fathers fare at his hands similarly. Thus on pp. 92, 97, 245, 5, “ S. Luke asserts that he derived information through tradition *handed down by regular catechists* from the original eye-witnesses.” “ S. Luke states that Theophilus had been catechized in *that very Gospel history* which S. Luke himself proposed to *reduce to writing*.” “ Each evangelist's work was intended, as S. Luke plainly says in his preface, for the congregation *whose oral Gospel he had committed to writing*.” “ We are told by Papias that S. Mark's Gospel is S. Peter's work, *which S. Mark translated from Aramaic into Greek*.” Why does Mr Wright put his own ideas into the mouths of S. Luke and Papias ? It cannot be from excessive modesty, for in his book of 340 pages the pronoun “ I ” occurs over a thousand times. No ! Mr Wright honestly believes every word he writes. And this feeling is confirmed when we find him treating himself in exactly the same way that he treats his minor authorities,—at one moment laying down “ The great principle which I have made my load-star is that an Evangelist would omit nothing,” and then, in all innocence of any such principle, relating how S. Luke sacrificed certain Petrine sections for the sake of others derived from a different source (p. 65).

To take a final example. Our author declares (pp. 101, 136) that his hypothesis about the oral S. Mark “ is in accordance with the habits of time and place,” “ is established by the habits and prejudices of the age.” What department of Rabbinical literature Mr Wright refers to he does not specify, and it is unnecessary to inquire, for, as said before, a denial is true of each and every.

In fine, Mr Wright reads his authorities wrongly, and it is in this way that one may account for the peculiarity of his conclusions.

F. P. BADHAM.

**Ignace d'Antioch, Ses Epîtres, Sa Vie, Sa Théologie.**

*Étude critique, suivie d'une traduction annotée, par Edouard Bruston, Pasteur. Paris: Libraire G. Fischbacher: London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 283. 5s.*

M. BRUSTON has re-opened the Ignatian controversy in a somewhat striking way. He contends that Ignatius was not a bishop, but one of the deacons of Antioch, and that he wrote not seven but only six epistles that have descended to us. The Epistle to the Romans, he says, is not written by the author of the other six. These two positions are mutually implied. The Epistle to the Romans declares that its writer is the bishop of Antioch; if it be genuine then Ignatius was a bishop, and not the humble deacon. M. Bruston believes him to be.

It must not be supposed, however, that M. Bruston does nothing but amplify this thesis. His book is a learned and interesting study of the writings, the surroundings, the life, the theology, and the ecclesiastical theories of Ignatius of Antioch. It concludes with an annotated translation of the six letters which the author believes to be genuine.

The book has three divisions. The first is devoted to the critical question. It is here that M. Bruston gives his reasons for believing that Ignatius was a deacon of Antioch, and that only six genuine epistles have come down to us from him. It is here that he describes the antiquity and value of the six letters, and the place which Ignatius occupied in the Church at Antioch, as the author believes it to be indicated in these genuine letters. Here also he shows his reasons for placing together the Acts of Ignatius the Martyr, and the non-genuine Epistle to the Romans; he contrasts the six epistles and the Epistle to the Romans; and finally gives his reasons for accepting the six and dismissing the seventh.

In the second part M. Bruston describes, if what must be made up from conjecture can be called description, the life of Ignatius at Antioch. He thinks that the martyr was born about the year 50, placing the date ten years later than Dr Lightfoot did. He agrees with most modern critics in thinking that the name Ignatius is Roman (Egnatius); but he also believes that the martyr was a Roman by birth; that he had been a soldier, from his familiarity with technical military terms; that he had been a pagan and had been converted to Christianity after he had passed middle age. This is all conjecture; and what leads M. Bruston to some of his conclusions has led other critics to opposing ideas. It must be remembered, however, that while other critics search through the

seven epistles for plausible reasons for the incidents of their conjectural biographies, M. Bruston is obliged to confine himself to six. The second portion of the book also describes with great care the incidents of the journey of Ignatius from Antioch, his sojourn at Philadelphia and Smyrna, his stay at Troas, and his voyage from Troas to Rome. Part of this recital is purely conjectural, but part is of course founded on facts contained in the six epistles. The date of the martyrdom is placed between the years 105 and 110. In this Bruston agrees so far with Lightfoot, who thinks that it might have taken place any year between 100 and 118, and disagrees with Harnack, who in his *Die Chronologie der Altchristl. Literatur* believes that the epistles were written perhaps as late as 125.

In the third part of the book M. Bruston discusses the theology of Ignatius, his ideas of the manifestation of God in Christ, his Christology, his thoughts on redemption and on faith by which we appropriate the benefits won by Christ, his idea that a life in Christ is a life of active love, and his earnest belief that the Lord is our Hope for the life of the future.

M. Bruston's description of the ecclesiastical ideas of Ignatius is both true and fresh. He shows that the idea which Ignatius has of the Church is much more religious than ecclesiastical. The Person of Christ is the centre; It is the object of the faith of every Christian, and It creates a unity among all Christians. "Where Christ is, there is the catholic Church." The Church consists of all those for whom Christ is a common name and a common hope; and all who live in the faith and love of Christ belong to the one catholic Church, which is, or ought to be, as closely united to Christ as the Son is to the Father. Ignatius, confronted by heresies within and persecutions without, has a passion for the unity of the Church; but the unity which is ever in his thoughts is at basis a religious unity founded on the faith and the love which the Church possesses and realises. This religious unity must translate itself into what can be seen and this visible unity expresses itself when all Christians live in terms of mutual respect, submit the one to the others, and especially to those who are placed at the head of the Christian communities, and who are to serve as models (Magn. vi.). Those at the head of the communities are the bishops, elders, and deacons; and with Ignatius this three-fold office forms one indissoluble whole, in whose hand all government is. For it is continually forgotten that Ignatius never regards the bishop as the sole chief of the Christian community. He is the centre and therefore the symbol of unity, and as he is the centre of the visible fellowship, he stands in the place of God or Christ, who is the centre of the great Invisible Church; he exercises the visible oversight, while Christ

rules invisibly and omnipotently. The reality of the visible oversight depends on its sympathy with the invisible rule of Christ.

"Here again," says M. Bruston, "Ignatius is, above all, the disciple of St Paul, who, without ceasing to be the apostle of liberty, has specially insisted on the solidarity of believers with each other, and on their communion with Christ. Members one of the other and members of the body of Christ, the faithful form one family under the guidance of one head. This Head, according to Ignatius, is God (or Jesus Christ), the overseer invisible; the faithful follow Him in following the visible overseer (bishop), assisted by his council of elders and deacons, the representative of His mind and will.

We must spend a little time in stating M. Bruston's special theories on what may be called the Ignatian problem; and to place these clearly before our readers it is necessary to say something about the great Ignatian controversy.

During the Middle Ages, and down to the seventeenth century, the writings of St Ignatius were supposed to consist of seventeen different letters, two of which, however, were epistles to and not from Ignatius. As soon as critical scholarship was directed to these writings, it was found to be impossible to accept them, at least in the form in which they were known, as genuine relics of the earliest age of Christianity. Thirteen of these epistles existed in numerous MSS. both Greek and Latin, while four were unknown in any Greek MS. Of the thirteen, the first twelve generally made one collection followed by the word "Amen," while the thirteenth, the Epistle to the Romans, appeared as an appendix. Scholars were inclined to refuse to accept the authenticity of any of these writings, but generally acknowledged that some of them might incorporate genuine traditions of the earliest ages of the Church. No doubt ecclesiastical prepossessions had some effect in inducing some critics to come to this sweeping rejection of all these documents. It was believed, quite erroneously, that the letters witnessed to an episcopal organisation of the Church in the second century. What they did evidence was the existence of a third Order in the Church different from and superior to elders and deacons, but that is common to Presbyterianism as well as to Episcopacy; and as the Ignatian "bishop" is in no sense a diocesan, and as he along with his elders and deacons make the indivisible governing body of the Christian community, the Ignatian organisation much more closely resembles the Presbyterian than the Episcopal. Still the ecclesiastical bias did enter largely into the critical question with French and with English scholars.

In 1644 Archbishop Ussher made a discovery which placed the whole controversy upon a new footing. He found two Latin MSS.

which contained the six epistles to the Churches of Asia Minor and to Polycarp. These six letters were in a much shorter form than in the usual MSS. and agreed with the quotations given from the letters by Eusebius and others. The same MSS. contained four epistles in the form common to the Mediaeval MSS.; they also contained an account of the martyrdom of St Ignatius, into which was inserted the so-called Epistle to the Romans, and the correspondence with St John and with the Virgin, also attributed to Ignatius. This discovery was followed by another. A Greek MS. was found and published corresponding to the Latin MSS. of Ussher, only it was imperfect and had neither the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius nor the Epistle to the Romans. Lastly, in 1689, the Greek text of the account of the martyrdom was found and published, and it contained the Epistle to the Romans. These discoveries furnished material for a discussion of the whole question of the writings of Ignatius, and it may be said generally that the weight of critical authority supported the idea that the true writings of St Ignatius were the five Epistles to the Churches of Asia Minor, the Epistle to Polycarp, and the Epistle to the Romans. Of course critical opinion was not at all unanimous; and doubts still continued to be maintained about the genuineness of many of the epistles. Then came the discovery by Cureton, of a Syriac edition of three of the epistles in a yet shorter recension. This reopened the whole controversy. Many distinguished scholars believed that Cureton's three letters were the only genuine remains of St Ignatius.

The trend of criticism during the half century which has elapsed since the publication of Cureton's Syriac version has been to abandon the positions held by Cureton, Bunsen, and other supporters of the Syriac version. Modern scholarship is represented by the late Dr Lightfoot's masterly edition of Ignatius and by Zahn's *Ignatius von Antiochien*. These scholars unite in accepting as the genuine works of Ignatius seven epistles in the form discovered by Ussher, Voss and Ruinart. According to these scholars, St Ignatius was bishop of Antioch, and on his way to martyrdom at Rome he wrote seven epistles—four from Smyrna, to the Ephesians, to the Magnesians, to the Trallians, and to the Romans; and three from Troas, to the Philadelphians, to the people of Smyrna, and to Polycarp. These seven are the genuine remains of Ignatius; they are the epistles mentioned and quoted from by Eusebius.

M. Bruston accepts the decision of these scholars so far as the five letters to the Churches in Asia and the letter to Polycarp are concerned, but he refuses to accept the Epistle to the Romans as genuine.

The starting point of his criticism is that Dr Lightfoot, Dr Zahn, though not in such a pronounced manner, and other scholars who



accept their conclusions, always speak as if these seven epistles made one collection—a collection known to and quoted by Eusebius. Of course he acknowledges that Eusebius quotes, and that largely, from the Epistle to the Romans, but he maintains that there are indications in Eusebius that the six epistles make one collection, and that the Epistle to the Romans occupies a place distinct from that collection. He besides shows that the Epistle to the Romans, in all the authentic MSS., is specially connected with the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and that this suggestive connection has never had the proper attention paid to it. The six epistles have always made one collection; the seventh, to the Romans, has always been separated from them, and has always been connected with the account of the martyrdom. Criticism is bound, he thinks, to take account of this peculiar position which it has always occupied.

Careful examination, M. Bruston thinks, brings out such differences between the Epistle to the Romans and the six genuine epistles that they cannot have had the same author.

The Epistle to the Romans declares that the author was the bishop of the Church in Antioch; in the other epistles the author calls himself a deacon. M. Bruston cites the passages in which Ignatius frequently calls deacons his "fellow-servants," an expression which he does not use in speaking of any other ecclesiastical official. These passages occur in the Epistles to the Ephesians (ii.), to the Magnesians (ii.), to the Philadelphians (iv.); but perhaps the most significant sentence is found in the epistle to the Church at Smyrna, "I salute your godly bishop, and your venerable presbytery and my *fellow-servants* the deacons" (xii.).

If Ignatius tells us plainly that he was a deacon, why does it come about that he is universally believed to have been a bishop? M. Bruston believes that this was due to the efflorescence of the legend which demanded an eminent person to be the type of the faithful martyr. He traces the growth of the account of the martyrdom, and his idea is that the Epistle to the Romans belongs to the same circle of legendary recital. He thinks that something is to be said for Daille's suggestion that the epistle contains some historical reminiscences of Ignatius such as could be well preserved among Roman Christians. For example, the phrase, "I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread," is a saying that might easily have fallen from the lips of the martyr in the arena, but looks out of place if written down in far-off Smyrna.

The author's conclusion is that, when all the sources of external evidence are carefully weighed, it will be found that the six epistles go naturally together, and that the Epistle to the Romans and the accounts of the martyrdom belong to a



different set of literature, and that the two have a very close relation to each other.

He finds this conclusion from the external evidence in complete harmony with what the internal evidence suggests. The Ignatius which the six epistles reveal to us is quite a different person from the Ignatius of the Epistle to the Romans and from the hero of the martyrology; and the accounts of how he fared on his journey are different. In the Epistle to the Romans, for example, the author says: "From Syria even unto Rome I fight with wild beasts by land and sea, by night and by day, being bound among ten leopards, even a company of soldiers, who only wax worse when they are kindly treated." In the six epistles these ferocious "leopards" allowed him to receive the bishop, his elders and deacons at Smyrna; they permitted him to hold a reception at Philadelphia; they made the journey pleasant for him in many ways. The account of the martyrdom agrees with the Epistle to the Romans, and not with the descriptions of the six epistles. The Ignatius of the six epistles is a simple-minded Christian who is anxious that the prospect of martyrdom may not prevent him from trusting in Christ on to the end. He does not long for a martyr's death; but if that is before him, he prays that no suffering may wean him from his faith in his Master. The Ignatius of the Epistle to the Romans and of the martyrology, on the other hand, can scarcely believe himself to be an accepted Christian unless martyrdom be vouchsafed to him. He must have the witness of his own martyrdom to assure him that he is really a Christian. He yearns to be martyred; martyrdom, and that alone, will give him assurance. But the Ignatius of the six epistles has already the assurance that he is an accepted disciple, and he prays that the prospect of martyrdom will not prevent him making a worthy confession. The extravagances for which Lightfoot apologises are not to be found in the six epistles; they belong, says M. Bruston, only to the martyrology and to the Epistle to the Romans. They represent that glorification of martyrdom which belonged to a later age.

Enough has been said to show the drift of M. Bruston's argument, which is worked out with great clearness. Is it convincing? Has he proved conclusively that Lightfoot and Zahn have erred in ascribing the Epistle to the Romans to Ignatius of Antioch?

For my own part, I confess that it is difficult for me to get over the fact that Eusebius knew seven epistles of Ignatius, and that he certainly thought that the Epistle to the Romans was written by the martyr. The criticism in which M. Bruston indulges to get over this difficulty seems to be the weakest part of his work. Are we or are we not to accept the statement of Eusebius?—that

is the main question ; and if that be the question, then it seems to me that M. Bruston has not proved his point, and that the conclusions of Lightfoot and Zahn are correct. If it were not for the statements of Eusebius, and if the matter were one to be discussed altogether apart from his assertion that Ignatius wrote seven letters from which he quotes, the problem of the Ignatian epistles would, in my opinion, be a very different one from what it is. I can quite accept the arguments of M. Bruston when he argues that there is no need to suppose that Eusebius had all the seven epistles in one well-known collection ; but in whatever way he had them, he knew of seven letters, and he believed that the seven were written by Ignatius. This being the case, it seems to me that unless it is absolutely impossible to reconcile reasonably the differences which M. Bruston undoubtedly shows to exist between the six epistles and the Epistle to the Romans, we must accept the authority of Eusebius that Ignatius did write the seven epistles which we now have. With the statement of Eusebius before us, it is not enough, in my opinion, to point out the wide differences between the six and the Epistle to the Romans ; it must be shown that the differences are absolutely irreconcilable. The strongest point which M. Bruston makes is that in the six epistles the author calls himself a deacon, and in the Epistle to the Romans he declares that he is the bishop of Antioch. M. Bruston's arguments are very strong, but it is possible to explain them away. If we had not the statement of Eusebius, I should be inclined to share the belief of M. Bruston, that the author of the six epistles was a deacon, and not a bishop ; I should in the same way think that M. Bruston's arguments drawn from the differences of tone about the meaning and spiritual value of martyrdom went the length of making the unity of authorship a very doubtful thing. But it is to be observed that the author of the six epistles does not in so many words call himself a deacon, and although the most natural explanation of his words is that he held the office of deacon, still they can be interpreted differently without doing violence to the sense. In the same way, although M. Bruston's arguments to show that the six epistles seem to reveal one Ignatius, and the Epistle to the Romans introduces us to another whose counterpart we find in the more or less legendary accounts of the martyrdom, yet these differences are not sufficiently great to be absolutely irreconcilable. They would require to be so in my opinion in order to get over the authority of Eusebius.

Readers who have not the same belief in the value of traditions that I have will have little difficulty in accepting much of the reasoning of our author.

We can at least say that he has, in a scholarly book and with

great clearness and force of statement and citation, reopened the Ignatian problem which most of us thought closed by the works of Lightfoot and Zahn. His book is a new illustration of the fact that no problem in theology or in critical enquiry can ever be regarded as closed.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

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### Dogmatik.

*Von D. Julius Kaftan. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 644. M.9.50.*

THE appearance of Kaftan's *Dogmatik* is a welcome event to those who desire a first-hand knowledge of the Ritschlian Theology. Hitherto the principles and doctrines of the school have perhaps been most widely diffused by the writings of its adversaries; and this state of matters, it must be confessed, has been as much its fault as its misfortune. Ritschl himself, though a systematic theologian of the first rank, did not bequeath a fully elaborated system. In the third volume of his epoch-making monograph, the *Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, he contented himself with defining his standpoint and method, and furnishing an object-lesson in the treatment of the central doctrines of the evangelical faith. His *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, while professedly covering more ground, is neither very suitable for its intended use in schools, nor very instructive for the theologian on the questions most loudly agitated in the controversies. And his disciples have been somewhat slow to respond to the demand for more system and more detail. Compendiums of the Ritschlian doctrine, such as Thikötter's, continued to whet rather than to satisfy the wide-spread curiosity. The writings of Herrmann, marked as they are by religious fervour and grace of style, did much to popularise certain Ritschlian tenets, but they also tended to strengthen the impression that for building up a complete system of doctrine the school had not sufficient faith or material. The *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* of Prof. F. Nitzsch furnishes valuable and sympathetic reviews of the Ritschlian positions under the chief heads of doctrine, but this masterly book is on the whole to be classed as that of an independent worker in the field. At length, however, the deeply felt want has been met; and from the pen of Dr Kaftan, the successor of Dorner in the University of Berlin, and Ritschl's ablest disciple in the systematic sphere, we possess an exhaustive and homogeneous treatment of the subject-matter of Dogmatics—and that in a form which, while serving as the vehicle of severe thought, fairly entitles it to rank as a piece of literature.

The position generally ascribed to Kaftan is that of leader of the right wing of the Ritschlian school. As a fact his work, though at many points radical and destructive enough, exhibits not a few features which indicate a desire to get into closer touch with the general theological tradition. In the field of Apologetics he had already given evidence of this by his fresh and vigorous attempt to supplement the internal evidence, on which his master exclusively relied, by an historico-philosophical proof. And in the present volume the same tendency is seen, not only in his habitual anxiety to conserve such "venerable formulae" as the Holy Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the necessity of the Atonement, but still more in the transparent sincerity of his belief that he is at one with pious orthodoxy in the fundamental articles of Christian faith.

The discussion of the foundations of the doctrinal system, which bulks so largely in recent works, is limited by Kaftan to two cardinal topics. The first and second chapters treat of the sources and norm of Dogmatics—Scripture and Confession; the third defines the aim or function of Dogmatics. As the most comprehensive statement of his position the following may be quoted: "The proper and main business of evangelical Dogmatics is to exhibit the knowledge which accrues to faith through appropriation of the revelation of God attested by Scripture. In the discharge of this task it is completely determined by Scripture and the Church's Confession, and in effecting this it renders to the church, in respect of preaching and teaching, an absolutely indispensable service" (p. 87).

In modern theology, as is well known, we meet with two fundamentally different conceptions of the scope of Dogmatics. According to the prevalent, and indeed the natural view, its function is to unfold and to systematise all our available knowledge in regard to God and divine things. To this Schleiermacher, at a period when theology was overrun by philosophy in the form of Rationalism, opposed the view that its work is to register and organise the beliefs which elucidate and nourish the Christian life, and in particular the life of a specific branch of the Christian Church. The latter conception was taken over by Ritschl, but with modifications designed to repel the most obvious and telling criticisms. In a passage in his biography he illustrates his relation to Schleiermacher, and the greater width and clearness of his own outlook, by declaring that they rode in the same coach, but that while the elder was an inside passenger, he had climbed to a seat on the box. The weakness of Schleiermacher's definition and treatment lay in the fact that where men ask for truth he seemed to make Dogmatics a mere mirror of views, or as Hegel put it, he reduced the theologian to the position of the accountant in a bank who handles large sums

of money which he does not own. And further, if this objection might be held to be met by Schleiermacher's distinct proviso, that the exponent of Christian doctrine must be a sincere member of the Church whose convictions he voices, there remained the further weighty criticism that Christianity was thus made a mutable quantity whose character altered from age to age under the pressure of new racial influences, and of new intellectual and even material conditions. And it is, Kaftan claims, the merit of Ritschl to have so corrected the standpoint of Schleiermacher as to safeguard the validity of Christian knowledge and the continuity of the Christian religion. This he accomplished, it is contended, by vindicating for the knowledge which comes by faith the character of real knowledge, and also by subordinating Christian doctrine to the objective and stable norm of the revelation of God which culminated in Christ. And to this position Kaftan gives his adherence, only urging more explicitly than Ritschl the trustworthiness of faith. "By faith, and especially Christian faith," he says, "is everywhere to be understood knowledge in the proper sense of the term. For knowing means the appropriation or formation of judgments with the accompanying presupposition that they are true, i.e. that they correspond to the reality given externally to the subject. But this the religious man assumes in respect of his faith, so that the latter has for him the validity of full and actual knowledge. If this assumption becomes precarious religion itself totters, and if it is abandoned religion is at an end" (p. 25). Elsewhere he modifies in the same sense a famous phrase of Ritschl. "His proposition that the religious view of the world embodies itself in judgments of value was at least liable to misapprehension. The religious view of the world really embodies itself in judgments of fact, is knowledge in the proper sense, following from the knowledge that God is and what God is. Only it stands in subjective relations other than those of theoretical knowledge. Not objective apprehension of the world and intellectual manipulation of the impressions so gained, but an inward experience embodying itself in judgments of value lies at the foundation" (p. 29).

It has seemed advisable to dwell somewhat fully on this point in consideration of the fact that the Ritschlian theology is widely supposed to stop short at the position of Schleiermacher, and even to satisfy itself in lieu of knowledge with agreeable fancies which it euphemistically describes as judgments of value. Or as it is even sometimes roughly put: it seems that on these principles belief is a matter of inclination. Although not new, Kaftan's emphatic protest is therefore to be noted, that by faith-knowledge is not meant knowledge of an inferior or less certain kind than theoretical knowledge, but only knowledge reached by a different path. A somewhat

similar case is that of the theist who believes in God, not on the ground of the theistic proofs, but on the ground that He is intuitively apprehended; and to discount the faith-knowledge of the Ritschlians as such is no more just than to maintain that the intuitionist cannot truly hold that God is known. A further question, and one in which it is more difficult to follow Kaftan, is whether the content of Christian knowledge is limited by the capacity of what he declares to be its mediating organ. To this organ is assigned a function similar to that which Kant claimed for the practical reason—viz., to grasp and certify certain truths as postulated in and guaranteed by the higher life; and the doubt that arises is whether this faith, which in the hands of the philosopher barely rescued the elements of Natural Theology, can be expected in the hands of the theologian to reach and authenticate in addition specific elements of a Revelation. It would, indeed, be incorrect to say that in the hands either of Ritschl or Kaftan the method issues in a merely rationalistic or ethical system. In their discussion of the essence (*Wesen*) of Christianity both find it of the nature of an ellipse, of which one focus is the ethical magnitude of the Kingdom of God, the other the religious magnitude of reconciliation to God or justification; and this co-ordination of the great evangelical principle with the ethical is of itself an immense advance, and, doubtless, a legitimate one, in the employment of the subjective method. It may even be granted that more might be made of the method, and that consciousness can be made to yield some corroborative response to more than one dogma declared by Kaftan to be indifferent to faith. But, on the other hand, there is no sufficient antecedent ground for deciding that Revelation could not contain and convey elements additional to those endorsed in experience. For there is an intellectual as well as a spiritual distress of humanity; and if God be assumed to put forth His power on man's behalf at all, it is arbitrary to require that it shall be brought into contact only with the practical side of his nature, and debarred from using the channel of intellectual illumination. At the same time the Ritschlian view serves to correct the ordinary theory which has greatly overestimated the intellectual element in Revelation. It may usefully draw attention to the fact that the primary purpose of Revelation is not didactic but remedial; that the didactic elements are rigidly controlled by a law of parsimony; and that doctrinal aberrations, which do not bear upon the religious and moral life, may properly be treated among Christians as open questions.

In his attitude towards Scripture and Confession Kaftan occupies the common German position which perplexes so many an English-speaking Protestant. On the one hand Scripture is recognised as the source and standard of doctrine, on the other its teachings are



subjected to the most free and apparently subjective criticism. Similarly the Confession is declared to be normative in the construction of the doctrinal system while yet a ruthless hand is laid upon the majority of doctrines which its framers regarded as fundamental. This procedure is, however, not inconsistent; and so far from being illegitimate, it is that which has in some form been forced upon theology. For Biblical Theology has made it impossible to regard the Bible as a storehouse of texts which may be confidently combined as furnishing supernatural information in regard to the whole range of doctrinal interests. The character and relations of the different portions of Scripture make it imperative to extract from it the system of redemption in which revelation culminated, and to employ this as the standard by which to control and value the remaining contents of the canonical writings. Next, if it be asked how we shall ascertain the outline of this system, which may be called the faith of the gospel, it is a natural and satisfactory course to follow the Reformers in the general interpretation of Christianity which was embodied in the Confessions. And working on these lines, the proof of a doctrine will be whether it is immediately given in faith, or follows by the logic of faith—or, as Kaftan expresses it, “whether it is necessary in the connection of faith and implied in the knowledge therein contained.” To use this source and norm is, no doubt, a far more difficult and precarious task than to collect and articulate the separate utterances of Scripture in regard to God and divine things. But, at least, it is not necessarily rationalistic, for it is not from reason but from Scripture, or rather from the perfect Revelation recorded in Scripture, that it derives the key to Scripture. Nor is the method an innovation in Protestantism, for the starting point of Protestant theology was the Gospel, not an abstract of the Bible.

For Kaftan, then, the source and norm of doctrine is Revelation as attested in Scripture and apprehended in the Reformation; and a profoundly important part of his work is the comparison and contrast of the Protestant conception of Christianity with the conception which governed the Greek and the Roman branches of the Church. In an interesting analysis he endeavours to show how they differed in their estimate of the chief good given in Christianity and in their view of its relation to our life in the world; and his argument goes in the direction of showing that various cardinal dogmas were bound up in their original form with an understanding of Christianity which was defective, and that with the clearer insight of Protestantism into the essence of Christianity and the means of attaining the *summum bonum* there necessarily follows a revolution in the region of Christological and sacramental dogma. No part of the work is more interesting, or of more far-reaching



importance, than this comparative study of the genius of the three great historical forms of Christianity, and it may be added that the estimate formed of Kaftan's system must largely depend on the judgment formed as to his analysis and exposition of Protestant principles. Here it may suffice to remark that if Kaftan exaggerates the distinction between the Greek and the Teutonic apprehensions of Christianity, his profound handling of principles is in refreshing contrast to the superficiality alike of the praise and the blame which we are accustomed to in discussion of the principles of the Reformation. He further takes up his position as a Lutheran Protestant, but makes the admission that, for scientific theology, the boundary-wall between Lutheranism and Calvinism has been broken down.

It is a common reproach that Ritschl, while professing to expel metaphysics from theology, did not keep his promise. Kaftan defines more accurately the limits within which reason is allowed to make its contribution. With the main task of Dogmatics, as has already been noticed, it has no concern: that task is simply to exhibit the knowledge possessed by faith in contact with Revelation. Where reason comes into play is in the fields of the apologetic and dogmatic problems. In the apologetic sphere it has to bring Christianity into relation with the other possessions of the intellectual life, and so vindicate its title to universal recognition. But it has also competency within the pale of the doctrinal system. When the content of faith has been exhibited and elucidated, there remain problems, such as the origin of evil and the grounds of the atonement, which faith merely raises, and in regard to which it allows the freest speculative treatment consistent with loyalty to the fundamental practical ideas of Christianity.

In the special part the traditional order of treatment is adhered to. Kaftan, it may be remarked, disclaims the ambition of rearing an "architectural" system, a task in which the æsthetic interest in symmetry is in danger of overbearing the love of truth; and he contents himself with what is in the main a reversion to the topical method. He treats the subject-matter under seven divisions: God, The World, Man and Sin, Jesus Christ—His Person and Work, The Church and the Means of Grace, Faith, The Christian Hope. In accordance also with the usual practice, he begins with an exposition of the Biblical material under each head, thereafter traces the development of the relative dogma or dogmas in the periods represented by the three great ecclesiastical divisions, next detaches the knowledge rooted in evangelical faith from the accretions due to pre-Reformation intellectualism or asceticism, and finally deals with the problem, if any, which results from or survives the analysis.

From this general account of Kaftan's principles and method, we next proceed to give some of his results in the field of Special Dogmatics.

The doctrine of God, and specially the doctrine of the divine attributes, is naturally a part of the system which is considerably modified in consequence of the Ritschlian protest against metaphysics. The most direct result of the principle is seen in the abandonment of the laboured classifications of the attributes, and especially of the attempt to describe and relate the so-called immanent attributes. Yet while deprecating the effort to describe the inner life of God he is careful to renew the claim that Christian knowledge "penetrates to the eternal being of God, and does not merely embrace his relations to the world" (p. 167). In His being, it is taught, God is known as a supermundane personal spirit, and His fundamental attributes are love, holiness and omnipotence. For the comparatively slight treatment of the attributes the further reason is given that a full discussion too readily anticipates what belongs to a later part of the doctrinal system. In the doctrine of the Trinity Kaftan finds an article which had points of attachment in the New Testament and which in the ancient Greek and in the western mediaeval Church was a vital part of the dominant conception of Christianity, but which in the Churches of the Reformation has become a mere speculative presupposition of faith, and which calls for revision in harmony with the evangelical conception of salvation (p. 198). The doctrine of the Trinity is thus transferred to the category of the problems which furnish matter for free speculation. His own construction, which of course does not transcend an economic Trinity, may be reproduced: "In its origin and continuance the knowledge of God given in Christian faith is dependent on this—that God has revealed Himself to men in Christ Jesus, and that to those who accept this His revelation He communicates His spirit and therewith Himself. Christian knowledge of God, accordingly, exists only as knowledge of Father, Son and Spirit; where it is a reality, it is knowledge of the triune God, and this comprehensive formula is above all indispensable in the interests of Monotheism. In the Evangelical Church, however, it must be understood in a sense agreeable to evangelical faith—that is to say, by associating with God Himself the historical life of the Lord as the self-revelation of God and the outpouring of the Spirit in the Christ-honouring Church as the self-communication of God, and by teaching the recognition in the historical data as such of the eternal being of God" (p. 211). From which words many will conclude that the new solution is an old heresy nearly related to Sabellianism.

Under the section dealing with the world reference might be made to the interesting chapter on miracles, which is fairly

positive. While granting with many moderns that they have no evidential value in relation to unbelievers, he asserts our good title to accept the evangelical miracles as they stand, and in that connection not merely miracles of healing. It is true that he is disposed to bring into the class of miracles the providential dealings of God with His people, and this extension of the idea might seem to level down the biblical miracle to the region of the more natural event; but that this would be a misconception is clear from the strong, express statement that "the living God is a God of miracles whose power has no limits" (p. 264).

In the treatment of the doctrine of man and of sin we meet with the deviations from the Augustinian analysis of sin which are already familiar in the liberal theology of Germany—viz., the denial of the imputation of Adam's guilt, the refusal to interpret hereditary corruption as personal guilt antecedently to self-determination, and the mitigation of the tenet of the total depravity of human nature. The special interest of Kaftan's exposition is, however, due to the fact that he develops the doctrine by reference to man's existing condition, and detaches it from all facts and speculations regarding the Original Condition and the Fall. The place of these last is in the region of problems, and the conclusions reached are not of vital moment to faith. While, however, he regards the problem of origins as one for free inquiry, his own speculations do not diverge widely from the received doctrine. The origin of evil he traces not to a necessity of nature, but to an abuse of free will on the part of our first parents, and human history, though we have no authentic report, is conceived to have begun somewhat as it is narrated in Genesis except that there the entrance of physical evil is post-dated—viz., in a condition of child-like innocence followed by a fall. To the doctrine of descent he attaches little importance. "Man is a creature of God—it matters not whether a new formation on a given basis, or a new form alongside of other forms. In both cases the gulf is, and remains identical. If we would know how it stood with mankind in the beginning (so far as we can frame ideas on the subject at all), we must have recourse to faith. To say that these modern theories contain aught to destroy faith and quench its thoughts is out of the question" (p. 357).

The doctrine of the Person of Christ is handled in a similar spirit with the Trinitarian dogma. The great Christological dogma which affirms the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the God-man is declared to have been valid from the defective standpoint of the Greek Church, but to have no use or significance for a purified evangelical faith. So strongly indeed does Kaftan hold the doctrine of the eternal sonship of Christ as

commonly understood to be obsolete and even harmful, that he has taken special pains to popularise his views on the subject. What he proposes to substitute for the Catholic dogma is summed up in "the divinity of Christ," which is expounded under three heads: He is the exalted Lord, the historical Saviour, the Eternal. More precisely he says: "The more exact definition of the proposition of the divinity of Jesus Christ, according to evangelical knowledge, is to the effect that He is the complete revelation of God, in His personal life the revelation of God, He himself God manifest in the flesh in human history" (p. 413). It is, however, to be noted that "it is the exalted Christ to whom faith in His divinity directly refers. Another kind of belief in the divinity of Christ than that which attaches to the exalted Christ has never existed in the Christian Church" (p. 416). The prominence thus given by Kaftan to the thought of the risen Christ as exalted to the throne of Divine majesty, and to the right hand of the Father, makes the impression of approximating more nearly to one of the most cherished beliefs of the spiritual type of piety than is found in the earlier utterances of the school. It must, however, remain surprising that Kaftan is unable to discover any other root for the belief in the eternal Sonship and all that is involved in the Logos doctrine than its connection with an oriental and antiquated conception of the chief good. The tenacity with which devout Christians cling, if not to the Chalcedonian formulae, at least to the clear idea of a true divinity and a personal pre-existence, clearly suggests that there is a permanent need which western as well as oriental feels that it satisfies. That need is assurance that the promises of the Gospel are trustworthy and that there is behind them adequate power, and the opposition to a Christology of the Socinian type is due to the fact that it is felt that with the disappearance of the Catholic dogma this assurance is weakened if not destroyed.

Under the rubric of the "Work of Christ," he combines with the usual topics others which are commonly treated under subjective soteriology, or the appropriation of the blessings of redemption. The doctrine of the Atonement is expounded on fairly familiar lines of modern theology—the causal connection of the death of Christ with the forgiveness of sins being affirmed, while the orthodox theory as to the mode of efficacy is discarded as at once self-contradictory and inconsistent with the Christian conception of God. The special feature of Kaftan's discussion is his study of the grounds of the necessity of Christ's death, which he is not content to discover merely on the human side—i.e., as the inevitable result of the revelation of divine love in a sinful world, and the indispensable means for reconciling man to God. The necessity he

traces back to God by observing that 'the purpose which the Redeemer's death served was one which was grounded in the nature of God Himself (p. 569).

In regard to the doctrine of the Church, Kaftan follows Ritschl in rejecting as misleading the distinction of the visible and the invisible Church. The distinction he thinks unfortunate as creating the impression that the Church which is the object of faith does not include the empirical church, whereas faith believes that the latter is a Church in the true sense of the word on the ground that the means of grace cannot be resultless. Its relation to the Kingdom of God is thus defined. "In it the Kingdom of God is realised. Yet the two conceptions, 'Kingdom of God' and 'Church,' are not to be identified. The Kingdom of God overlaps the Church behind and before. The Church is the Kingdom of God in the present *stadium* of its realisation. The period of the Church is the period between the exaltation of Jesus Christ and the future consummation" (p. 584). To the sacraments, the institution of which by our Lord he sees no reason to doubt, Kaftan attaches great importance—and this mainly on the ground that they furnish an objective guarantee of the destination to the individual of the blessings of salvation. "The importance of baptism," he says, "cannot be too highly appraised. It is a fact of experience that Christians require and seek after such a guarantee. This need is improperly met when the Christian comforts himself with the thought of his conversion or his faith." But under real trial we can find no real support by recurring to our own experience. Then it is that baptism proves a sheet-anchor; the Christian can, may and ought to plead his baptism with God (p. 607). The value of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is similarly traced in the main to its character as "a seal," inasmuch as "it conveys to the communicants an objective assurance of their personal participation in the blessings of salvation possessed by the Church" (p. 610). The specific Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, it need hardly be added, is dismissed as a Romanising excrescence on the evangelical faith.

The eschatology is meagre, being dismissed in twelve pages. The reason for this slight treatment is that, in Kaftan's view, a large body of the biblical material is not an integral part of Christian faith, but was simply taken over from the apocalyptic cycle of Jewish thought. What faith stands sponsor for refers only to the portion of believers, and is summed up as follows: "Christian hope expects the consummation of the Kingdom of God and eternal life in the same as the goal of human history and of the individual life. In both cases the goal is reached after a catastrophe involving the destruction here of the outer world there

of the outward man. Of the final judgment (*Entscheidung*) the principle is Christ, and to all who have become members of his body eternal life is assured" (p. 636). Into the problems connected with the intermediate state and the fate of unbelievers Kaftan declines to enter, except to declare that as there is an eternal life so there is an eternal death. The immense gulf between faith and unbelief has its counterpart in the antithesis of eternal life and death, and the doctrine of universal restoration is untenable. But over the nature of the death which is everlasting the veil is left drawn.

By many, Kaftan's *Dogmatik* will be emphatically and even contemptuously dismissed as a mere farrago of heresies ancient and modern—Sabellian, Pelagian, and Socinian—to which certain minds have reverted in the littleness of their faith. It may therefore be permitted in conclusion to point out one or two features which not only entitle this type of theology to toleration, but even exhibit it in the light of a useful instrument for the extension of the Kingdom of God. In the first place, if in one point of view it evidences a diminution of faith, in another it may be regarded as a triumph of faith; for it is hardly short of a triumph that thinkers for whom the doctrines of Natural Theology have broken down, the ordinary scheme of Christian Evidences is unconvincing, and the old conception of the inerrancy of Scripture has become untenable, nevertheless resolutely cling to many of the cardinal positions of Christianity. A further point which has been too little appreciated is the prominence which it gives to what is after all the most important element in any presentation of Christianity—viz., the evangelical idea. It cannot be denied that there is here an honest and consistent attempt to develop and press home the truth which Paul opposed to Jewish legalism—viz., that we are saved, not of works, but by grace on the ground of faith in Jesus Christ. And this being so, it may be strongly held that the Ritschlian theology renders a much-needed service in recalling other schools to a juster sense of the perspective of Christian doctrine. But the question of chief moment in this connection, though too seldom faced, is this: are the conditions of salvation as formulated by the school such that their fulfilment leads to reconciliation with God, sanctification, and eternal life? If a critic holds that the answer is in the negative, that the gospel in the Ritschlian setting of heresies and ignorances cannot be the power of God unto salvation, then he cannot show too great zeal in excommunicating and suppressing the soul-destroying error. But if his answer is to the opposite effect (and few Protestants at least will deny that it discloses sufficient for the salvation of them who believe and obey) then it may fairly be claimed that the school has an apologetic vocation to our time in

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the service of God—possessed as it manifestly is of the power to re-awaken interest in divine things, and to enable some who have lost confidence in older teachers to look past the confusion and the turmoil to the things which cannot be shaken. That the Ritschlian theology has discarded elements of dogma which are of great value has already been indicated, and theology cannot be expected to acquiesce calmly in the impoverishment; but it seems more needful at present to do greater justice to its function as a missionary theology to the world of culture in an age of transition.

W. P. PATERSON.

### **Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache.**

*Von Fr. Eduard König. Leip.: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. ix. 721. Price, 18s.*

WHILE the admirable Grammar of Olshausen and also that of Stade have remained without a syntax, König has been able to bring his great work to a conclusion. The third volume, the Syntax, a work of over 700 closely printed pages, has now appeared, and the author is to be congratulated on the completion of his very comprehensive undertaking. Of course this is not a book to learn Hebrew syntax from, the general principles of the language must be taken from simpler and less complicated manuals; the object of this work is to fill in the outline of principles with all the existing particulars. In one respect König differs from Stade and others of his school, and the difference is to his advantage: he accepts anomalies of diction and idiom, registers them, and makes an effort to account for them, while Stade as a rule obliterates them, substituting regular and usual forms in their stead. So far as principles are concerned there is perhaps not much new in the book, though an appearance of novelty is sometimes gained by disposing the principles under new categories. Some will think the terminology employed strained and even pedantic, but the straining arises from a desire to generalise and find a phraseology that will embrace or suggest what is common to the Shemitic languages in general. One moderately versed in general Shemitic grammar will readily appreciate such terms as *yaqtul elevatum* and *yaq gravatum* for the more familiar Juss. (subj.) and Cohort., and much else of the same kind.

The value of the book lies in its being a complete thesaurus of the syntactical facts, familiar and unfamiliar, regular and anomalous, though a great deal of the interest of it lies in the very frequent comparisons instituted with the usages of other Shemitic dialects and with those of the Mishna. These facts are marshalled,



discussed, and reasoned upon with much breadth of knowledge and with candour and courtesy towards other scholars. But though to offer as exhaustive a contribution as possible to the study of the language may have been the author's immediate purpose, his more general object has been to help forward the accurate interpretation of the Old Testament. His work, as he says himself, should serve as a commentary to the whole Hebrew literature, at least to all the obscure and anomalous passages in it. His judgment on such passages has not been formed without consultation of other grammatical works and all important commentaries, and his constant references to such works (chiefly in dissenting from them) give a better idea than anything else of the enormous labour the compilation of his work has cost him, and of his independence in forming his opinions. There may be those who think that König's collections of facts are more trustworthy than his reasoning on them; but, apart from all opinions of this sort, he has laid all students of the Old Testament under the greatest obligation by furnishing them with the materials in this work, and by the example of enthusiastic study which he has given.

The accuracy with which the book has been produced is extraordinary. The indices are very full, and the author draws attention to a new principle adopted by him in forming his index. Instead of enumerating in their arithmetical order the sections bearing on any passage, he cites the sections according as they illustrate the points in the passage as they successively arise. Thus in Isaiah vii. 14, The Lord himself will give you a sign, Behold a Virgin, &c., §§ 40, 340 *d*, illustrate *himself* (הוא); §§ 390 *o*, 357 *n*, bear on the question whether *behold* be conditional or affirmative; while §§ 237 *h*, 367 *v*, discuss whether הרה means "is with child" or "shall be with child." This arrangement may do something to save the time of one consulting the index. It may be taken as evidence that even the most complete work cannot contain everything that the most difficult grammatical point in the verse, the use of the Art. "the" virgin, is not alluded to in any of the sections cited by the author.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

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### **Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte; Textkritische Untersuchung.**

*Von Dr Bernhard Weiss. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 112. Price, M.3.50.*

THIS essay forms the first part of the second volume in the new series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, edited by Gebhardt and Harnack. In it the veteran commentator and critic states his

inability to accept the theories of Blass respecting the text of the Acts, and gives the main reasons for his dissent—reasons which he believes that everyone, who is acquainted with current principles of textual criticism, will find convincing. That Blass has done immense service by his investigation of the text which underlies Codex Bezae, is warmly admitted. Before he wrote on the subject there were signs here and there that the old view of D, as being a disreputable collection of capricious corruptions, was giving place to a more reasonable estimate of its value: but no sure result could be obtained without a comprehensive survey such as Blass has supplied. But the truth of the hypothesis which he has put forth as the result of that survey is quite another question. He holds that the two forms of text, which are represented on the one hand by the oldest uncials ( $\alpha$ ), and on the other by D and its supporters ( $\beta$ ), are equally original, the latter representing the rough first draft made by S. Luke, the former the good copy specially prepared for Theophilus. The chief argument urged by Blass for this view is, that, since neither  $\alpha$  can be explained from  $\beta$ , nor  $\beta$  be explained from  $\alpha$ , both must be of about the same date and original. Nevertheless his theory imperatively requires that  $\alpha$  should be explained from  $\beta$ . What induced Luke to abbreviate and alter the  $\beta$  text in such a way as to produce the  $\alpha$  text? To this question Blass has thus far given but scanty materials for an answer. And yet there are so many instances in which the variations of  $\alpha$  from  $\beta$  cannot be regarded as improvements, that the hypothesis of  $\alpha$  being a fair copy made from  $\beta$  demands full explanation and defence. Weiss believes that the number of such instances is so great as to be fatal to the hypothesis; and he proposes to narrow the question down to that issue. All discussion as to the place and time at which the two texts originated may be set on one side. The problem to be discussed is, whether the phenomena of the texts allow us to believe that  $\beta$  is the first draught of which  $\alpha$  is the revised edition. And, in order to simplify this problem still further, Weiss rejects the attempt which has been made to get at the text which underlies D. For that enterprise our equipment is far too scanty. We must take the text of D as it stands, and compare it with that of the oldest uncials.

A study of D will convince us that the copyist who made it was a careless worker. It abounds in phenomena which, upon any theory of the origin of the text, must be blunders. The common mistakes made by transcribers, such as the putting in or leaving out of letters or syllables, and the interchange of similar letters, especially vowels, are very frequent. This copyist is specially given to substituting participles for finite verbs, as *εὐαγγελίζοντες*

for -ται (xvi. 17), ἀπηγγείλαντες for -λαν (xv. 4), without stopping to consider whether the change makes havoc of the construction or not. With similar thoughtlessness he often inserts a καί where it is grammatically impossible, as καθελόντες καὶ ἔθηκαν (xiii. 29), συμπεριλαβὼν καὶ εἶπεν (xx. 10), &c. And there are other kinds of blunders besides these two. Such phenomena do not enable us to judge whether the text of D is an original or a derived text; but they do tend to show that, if it is an emended text, it does not owe its emendations in any considerable degree to its transcriber. So careless and senseless a worker would be incapable of making well-considered emendations.

A large number of the instances of variations in single words are probably cases of mere carelessness, and supply no evidence of an older and independent text: *e.g.* Βαρνάβας and Βαραββᾶς for Βαρσαββᾶς, Εὐτυχός for Τυχικός, ἔθνη for ἔθη, προσευχή for εὐχή, ἱερεὺς for ἀρχιερεὺς, although the last is found in one or two Latin authorities (v. 27). But this feature comes out most strongly in the case of verbs. There are over a hundred cases in which the text of D has a different verb from the ordinary text: *e.g.* ἔλυσεν for ἔλουσεν (xvi. 33), ἀπέλυσεν for ἀπήλασεν (xviii. 16), διαματυρούμενος for διαμαρτυρόμενος (xviii. 5, xx. 21), ἐδέξαντο for ἐδόξαζον (xiii. 48). Similarly εἶπεν and ἔφη are interchanged both ways (xvi. 30, xxii. 27, xix. 25), and ἀπεκρίθη is changed to εἶπεν (v. 8, x. 46). And there are upwards of a hundred variations in the matter of conjunctions, καί, δέ, τε, &c.

Omissions in D are very frequent. There are about eighty cases in which the article is omitted; and, although in some instances D is supported by the older uncials and in others by the group EHL P, yet half of these omissions of the article are probably mere mistakes in copying; *e.g.* vi. 1, x. 45, xiii. 42, xxi. 11, xxii. 5. On the other hand either the copyist of D or one of his predecessors seems to have had a fancy for omitting the article before κύριος (xvi. 32, xv. 40, xviii. 9, xix. 5). There are six places in which the negative is omitted in D. In two of these (iv. 20, v. 26) the omission of the μή or οὐ makes nonsense of the sentence. In two others (xx. 20, 27) the negative is pleonastic, and the omission may be deliberate. The remaining two (vii. 25, xix. 40) are probably cases of careless omission, although Blass regards that of xix. 40 (a well-known crux) as original. There are also six places in which ἐν is omitted in D. Five of these Blass recognizes as mistakes; and the omission of it between δεδομένον and ἀνθρώποις may be of the same character, although it has the support of Vulg., Iren. Cypr. And there are more considerable omissions in D, some of which must be mere oversights, for the omission is fatal to the sense. Such are προιδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς (ii. 31) and συνῆλθον δὲ

καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν (xxi. 16). For other probable instances see ii. 19, iv. 13, x. 27, xi. 26, &c.

It is evident, Weiss holds, from the many instances which he cites (of which only a very few have been quoted above) that Codex D in all its parts is disfigured by careless mistakes and capricious alterations, such as are found in all MSS., and are in no way specially characteristic of D, except, perhaps, as regards the very large number of them. What he complains of in Blass is the arbitrary manner in which he sets aside some of these as manifest corruptions, while he adopts others, which are exactly similar, as parts of an original text. It is quite clear that these numerous variations do not come all from any one source, but have accumulated gradually, and that some of them have a very high antiquity, as their agreement with other ancient witnesses shows: and yet, according to Blass, this is no evidence of their originality.

But there is another kind of various readings in D which are very characteristic of this MS. They are such as affect the matter of the narrative, altering it and enlarging it; and they are not confined to mere changes of expression, but betray deliberate construction or alteration of the text. It is this class of various readings which can help us to answer the question whether D preserves an older text than that which is contained in the oldest uncials: and this question Weiss answers emphatically in the negative. He holds that in a number of cases the text of D can be explained only on the supposition that a text such as is found in the oldest uncials has preceded. We have several instances of such things at the very outset.

In the introduction (i. 2) D transposes ἀνέλημφθῇ from the end of the sentence to immediate connexion with ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας, and after ἐξελέξατο adds καὶ ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, in order to make the meaning of ἐντειλάμενος clearer. Again, in i. 4, the insertion of φησιν διὰ στόματος between ἠκούσατε and μου has obviously been made in order to smooth the transition from oblique to direct oration and to avoid the double construction of ἀκούειν with both acc. and gen. The insertions of ὁ μέλλετε λαμβάνειν and of ἕως τῆς πεντεκοστῆς in i. 5 are of a similar character. Blass himself admits that the reading σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν καὶ τέκνοις for σὺν γυναῖξιν (i. 14) is a corruption, and that ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τοῦ (ii. 1) is a later insertion: but they are of exactly the same character as variations which he regards as original. The same may be said of his rejection of κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστῆσαι τὸν χριστόν (ii. 30), which is in EP, and which Hilgenfeld regards as original.

In this way Weiss works through all the chief alterations and insertions which are characteristic of D, and maintains that the

motive for all of them is, as a rule, thoroughly intelligible, and that in most of them the editing scribe is working on (or under the influence of) the text which is found in our oldest uncials. It is impossible to suppose that this text, the brevity of which is sometimes difficult and harsh, can have been produced from the more full and smooth text of D. Weiss is quite unable to understand how Blass and Hilgenfeld can again and again maintain that the text of D is original, *because it is so much smoother and clearer*. That very fact justifies us in suspecting that it is the result of deliberate emendation; although, as the instances quoted show, the attempted emendation is often a failure. In some cases there is no real difficulty in the words which have been supposed to need emendation; and in others the alteration made is no real improvement. Nevertheless, it is a fundamental principle of textual criticism that the reading which can most easily be explained as being derived from another is secondary.

In the well-known example in xi. 27, 28, *συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν*, Weiss is inclined to admit that we may have the original text preserved. And he entirely agrees with Blass, that, if this reading is original, then beyond all question the author of the Acts was a member of the Church of Antioch, as Eusebius and others state. This reading gives us a fourth "we-section." But, it does not follow, because this passage is genuine, that therefore all the places in which D has a more full and clear reading are original.

In his recent work entitled *Philology of the Gospels* Blass objects to "the dust of minute textual criticism, which in Weiss's book is found from the very beginning, overspreading everything else, and overclouding the main problems, which, if they are to be rightly decided, must be kept clear from minute encumbrances, like the blunders of the copyists of D, or of those of its predecessors. Let these blunders be stated in any number, you will by that means not even touch or approach the problem; and Weiss, by using that method, has got nearly as far as the middle of his book before approaching it" (pp. 125, 126).

But it is only by detailed textual criticism that questions as to the priority of the  $\alpha$  text and the  $\beta$  text, or of their equal originality, can be solved. Whether or no Weiss's estimate of this or that instance is correct, it is by such comparisons as he has made, by the cumulative result of the comparisons, that a trustworthy solution of the problem will be reached. He may have gone to an excess in pressing minute details; but a wide induction made from an exhaustive survey of all kinds of instances is what we require. And similar instances must be judged on similar principles. It is not satisfactory to find exactly the same evidence treated as adequate in one case and as inadequate in another

simply because the reading which it supports in the one case seems to us to be a good one, while in the other case it does not. And yet this is what Blass would claim as a fundamental principle of criticism. We must have "entire liberty to select in each individual case that branch of the tradition for our guide which shall seem to us to be in this case most trustworthy, even if it be a heretical witness like Marcion" (*Philology of the Gospels*, p. 58). And mediaeval versions may suffice, if nothing else is to be had in support of the reading which we desire. "When a corruption has spread widely, you must go to the very remotest corner, if you wish to find the true reading preserved" (p. 69).

Such principles appear to open a very wide door for the entrance and dominance of purely subjective considerations. With regard to the issue between Blass and Weiss, there is agreement up to a certain point. Blass would probably not object to the conclusion which Weiss states in the last sentence of the treatise which we have been considering,—"that the preference for Codex D in the Acts of the Apostles as against our ancient uncials has no foundation." For to this Blass might rejoin, that of course we have no right to prefer an author's rough draft of his work to a revised copy made by himself; but that that does not prove that the rough copy is not of equal value as an authority for the facts. Both copies may express his knowledge or convictions; and the rough draft may sometimes do this more clearly than the fair copy, because omissions made for the sake of brevity may in some cases have impaired the lucidity of the narrative.

The perplexing thing is that sometimes the  $\alpha$  text and sometimes the  $\beta$  text looks like the revised copy. Whatever one may think of the conclusion which Blass draws from the fact, he seems to have used a sound argument in contending that it is impossible satisfactorily to explain either  $\alpha$  from  $\beta$  or  $\beta$  from  $\alpha$ . We may say of him as Aristotle says of Eudoxus—*δοκεῖ καλῶς συνηγορῆσαι περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων*. But a good deal more will have to be done before it is securely established that both these texts come from the hand of Luke, and that  $\alpha$  represents his revision of  $\beta$ . One danger lies in the frequent temptation to suppose that what seems to be a satisfactory explanation of some of the variant readings is therefore the explanation of the remainder, or of most. The problem is a complex one, and there is probably no short cut to a right solution. Careful analysis of individual cases, such as Weiss has given us, is the method most likely to yield good results.

A. PLUMMER.



**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament  
herausgegeben von K. Marti.**

*Das Buch Hesekiel erklärt von A. Bertholet. Freiburg und Leipzig: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1897. Pp. xxvi. 259. Subscription price, 4 Mk.; separate, 6 Mk.*

THAT the long despised and misunderstood seer of Tel-Abib has at last come to his own is not the least of our obligations to the newer criticism. From a *vox et præterea nihil*, Ezekiel has come to be regarded as "the father of Judaism," the great thinker who has stamped the impress of his thought upon the whole subsequent religious history of his countrymen. And not upon Judaism only, for Christianity also is the richer for what he taught as to the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and but for him we should scarcely have had the vision glorious of "the new heaven and the new earth," and of "the holy city, the new Jerusalem" (Apoc. xxi. 1, 2).

To entrust a commentary on so difficult a prophet to a young Privat-Docent was an experiment not without risk, but the editor's confidence in Dr Bertholet has not been misplaced. The commentary before us is an exceedingly painstaking and conscientious piece of work, more "modern" than the commentaries of Smend and Davidson, that of the last-named scholar, however, being strongest where we venture to think Bertholet's is weakest; but of this later. It follows the plan of the series to which it belongs, Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar series, which differs from Nowack's series mainly in the absence of a continuous translation. The table of contents occupies six pages, so that it not only gives a summary view of the contents proper, but also serves to bring out the methodical arrangement of the book and the mutual relation of its various parts. The usual introduction follows (pp. xi.-xxv.), the larger part of which is devoted to "the person of the prophet" and "the prophet's book."

With the former topic we at once enter debatable territory. The injustice of Smend's dictum that Ezekiel is not strictly speaking a prophet at all is easily shown, while stress is laid on the novel elements, particularly on the marked individualism, in Ezekiel's prophetic work. A few lines further on, Dr Bertholet refers to "what is perhaps the most important trait in his prophecy—the legislative (*cf.*, *e.g.*, on xliii. 10 f.)." To this statement, even as qualified, we must demur. It can be maintained only by exalting the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's book at the expense of all the rest. But these chapters were written many years after the author



had apparently exhausted his message to the exiles and received, so to speak, his discharge from the office of "watchman" to which he had been called. Besides, after all that has been written on this subject, including Bertholet's own *Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekiel* (1896), it still remains far from clear whether Ezekiel intended these chapters to be an actual programme for the restored community, or whether they represent merely an old man's ideal of the future. So thorough a student of Ezekiel as Professor A. B. Davidson declares that the former "was not the prophet's idea, and never came into his mind."

As regards the second of the topics above mentioned, the prophet's book, Bertholet approves of the division into two equal parts (chaps. i.-xxiv. ; xxv.-xlvi.), which he styles respectively the "*pars destruens*" and the "*pars construens*," discusses the literary characteristics of the book, noting the influence of Jeremiah, and subscribes finally to Cornill's conclusion "that Ezekiel wrote and arranged his book as a whole in the twenty-fifth year [of his captivity, *i.e.* 573 B.C.], but made use for this purpose of earlier . . . compositions which he left essentially unaltered." We are glad to note, however, that he adds thereto a caveat against those modern extremists who would reduce some of the prophet's most striking passages to *vaticinia ex eventu*, a position which he further upholds in various parts of his commentary. With regard to the state of the text, a well-merited tribute is paid to the labours of Cornill, notwithstanding his exaggerated view of the value of the Septuagint, and approval expressed of the *via media* adopted by Siegfried (in Kautzsch's Bible) and by Toy (in Haupt's S.B.O.T.), the proof sheets of the latter's Ezekiel having been kindly placed at Bertholet's disposal.

From the commentary, which is one of the fullest which has yet appeared in this series, we select at random a few points that seem to call for remark. At the very commencement we meet with a novel attempt to solve the enigma of "the thirtieth year" with which the book opens (chap. i. 1). The unsatisfactory nature of the current solutions is easily shown and the suggestion, due originally to Professor Duhm, brought forward that the present text is from the hand of a later student who had noted that Jeremiah specifies seventy years as the duration of the exile (xxv. 11), while Ezekiel speaks of only forty (iv. 6), and consequently had drawn the inference that Ezekiel began his prophetic career *in the thirtieth year of the exile*. The new solution is at least as good as any of the old.

On ii. 1 a fuller discussion of the characteristic term "son of man" would have been in place particularly with reference to its use in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the New Testament. With

regard to the frequent symbolical actions of our prophet, we seem to be no nearer agreement than before. Bertholet is an uncompromising realist, his reviewer is a pure symbolist, and there the matter ends. Even the remarkable feat of iv. 4-8, according to our author, is to be taken literally—although the period is reduced by the help of the Greek text to 190 + 40 days—for Bertholet holds with Klostermann that we have to do with a cataleptic subject, who in some unexplained way may have been the victim of "Autohypnose"!

An interesting and suggestive note deserves mention on v. 6 "as the forerunner of Romans ii. 14 ff.," tracing this idea of a non-Hebrew conscience to its roots in the older prophecy. One of the many obscurities of Ezekiel occurs, it will be remembered, in viii. 17, "lo, they put the branch to their nose." These words are generally understood by modern scholars to refer to the *bareṣma*, or bundle of aromatic twigs, which the Persian sun-worshippers held to the mouth to prevent their breath contaminating the Deity. But, as Bertholet points out, it is strange that a mere detail of the sun-worship, which has already been condemned in v. 16, should receive such prominence and such severe condemnation (see v. 18). His suggestion is certainly tempting, to retain the old pointing *appi* (of which the present text is a "correction of the scribes"), and to see a reference to phallus-worship, to which Isaiah lvii. 8 also most probably refers. We miss, however, in the discussion a reference to Ezek. xvi. 17. Under ix. 4, referring to the "sign of the cross," it should have been stated that the letter *Taw* had in Ezekiel's time the form of a cross.

The whole of the last section of the commentary, chapters xl.-xlviii. (pp. 190-252) is particularly well done, judicious emendations being freely resorted to, as the necessary means of overcoming obscurities; a number of detailed plans of the temple, &c., afford welcome aid in understanding the text. On the other hand we do not think that Dr Bertholet does full justice to such chapters as xviii., xxii., and xxxvi., which is equivalent to saying that he fails to do full justice to Ezekiel as a moral and religious teacher. To Bertholet Ezekiel is rather the father of the rabbins than the son of the earlier preachers of righteousness. He never fails to insist on the prophet's doctrine of sin, and its correlate holiness, as external and purely physical entities (*äusserlich, rein physisch*), and on his conception of religion as not ethical but ceremonial. That this is too one-sided a view of the teaching of the great prophet-thinker of the exile might, we venture to think, be proved without much difficulty.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben von Dr Karl Marti.**

*Das Buch der Richter erklärt von Dr Karl Budde. Leipzig und Tübingen: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. xxiv. 147. Subscription price, Mk.2.50; otherwise, Mk.3.60.*

FEW living scholars, it will be admitted, are more competent to write a commentary on the Book of Judges than the author of *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890). Since the appearance of the standard work just named, the critical problems of the Book of Judges have engaged the attention of a number of scholars, among whom Moore and Kittel are pre-eminent. It is needless to say that Budde in the work before us takes account of every serious contribution that has been made in the intervening years to the solution of these problems. He has also had placed at his disposal a valuable work in manuscript by Dr H. Holzinger, whose elaborate "Introduction to the Hexateuch" is well known to all Old Testament students. In the present commentary, therefore, we have the latest results of international scholarship as regards the critical and exegetical difficulties of the Book of Judges.

From these results it would seem as if two hitherto unsolved problems of some importance were now in a fair way to a final solution. The first of these has reference to the extent of the early prophetic narratives, known to Pentateuch critics as J and E. It has long been held that these sources extend not merely to the Book of Joshua, but to the first two chapters at least of the Book of Judges. The question, however, remained: Did they close with the conquest or did they continue to give the history of the period of the Judges and of the establishment of the monarchy? In other words, can we trace these sources throughout Judges and Samuel? To this latter question Budde in his previous work replied in the affirmative, while Kittel may be taken as the most strenuous representative of the negative view. It now appears, however, that the controversy narrows itself, as is often the case with such controversies, to a question of terms and their significance. What is meant by the symbols J and E? Do they represent individuals or schools? If the former, then not even Budde would ask us to believe that the same hand that wrote, let us say, the creation-narrative of Genesis, chap. ii., also wrote the stories of Gideon and Samson. But if the symbols are to be understood in a wider sense, as convenient designations of schools, or as Budde would now prefer to say, of two groups of "kindred spirits" (*Commentary*, p. xiv.), then it follows that he and Kittel are in practical agreement.

Budde's only stipulation is that he be allowed to hold that J and E, as found in Judges, were already united with the other productions of the two "schools," forming one great continuous history from the creation downwards, before the date of the Deuteronomic redaction.

The second of the two critical problems to which reference was made above will be best understood by recalling the course of Pentateuch criticism. There, it will be remembered, the so-called "supplementary hypothesis" has been displaced for at least a generation by the dominant "documentary hypothesis." In the case of Judges, however, the prevailing view hitherto has been that each of the narratives of the book was made up of its *Grundstock* (to borrow once more a familiar Pentateuchal term), supplemented by literary additions of various dates and tendencies. But the careful and minute analytical studies of Kittel, Moore, Holzinger, Winckler and, not least, of Budde himself, have gone far to secure the final triumph of the documentary hypothesis for the narratives of Judges as well as for those of Genesis. For the evidence of this statement we must refer the reader to the book under review.

In his excellent introduction (pp. ix.-xiv.) Professor Budde discusses such topics as the following: (1) The structure (*Aufbau*) of the Book of Judges, regarding which he observes that "no other historical book of the Old Testament presents on the whole so simple and transparent a structure." (2) The various redactional stages through which the book has passed; this section is supplemented by an analytical table on pp. xxii.-xxiii., where the materials are arranged in no fewer than nine columns, the great mass of the contents, however, falling to J, E, and the post-Deuteronomic redaction D<sub>2</sub>. (3) The history of the text, calling attention once more to the two early Greek translations represented by existing MSS. of the LXX (the Cambridge edition of the texts of A and B, we may remark, appeared after the publication of the commentary). Finally (4), we have a short discussion of the chronology of the Judges, regarding which, however, Budde has nothing heroic to propose.

Passing to the commentary proper, we find, as in all Budde's work, many subtle hints as to the analysis of the narratives (some of them too subtle to command universal assent), many points of Hebrew philology treated with the firm touch that is characteristic of the best Hebrew scholarship, and not a few fruitful suggestions on difficult questions of early Hebrew history. The numerous geographical notes are also valuable, and in connection therewith we are glad to note the frequent references to Professor Buhl's compendious *Geographie*, the completeness and systematic arrangement of which make it an excellent companion to Professor Smith's more popular and picturesque work.

While thus ready to appreciate the many excellencies of the commentary, we cannot conceal the conviction that, limited as it is to 150 pages, it is over-weighted by the amount of purely critical matter. The value of the book for those for whom it is intended, the student of Hebrew, and the busy pastor and layman, would undoubtedly have been increased had there been less minute analysis and more of what we may call exegesis proper. With regard, finally, to the religious teaching of the book, it is true, no doubt, that the authors of these early narratives are not so morally or spiritually "intense" as an Amos or an Isaiah, yet there is an amount of religious and moral earnestness to which Budde has scarcely done justice. Thus at the close of the history of Abimelech (to take but a single instance), where the Hebrew writer is careful to emphasise the doctrine of Divine retribution (ix. 56, 57), the following is the only comment: "56 f. is plainly the conclusion of E, cf. on ch. 9."

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

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**Haller, Wilhelm. Jovinianus, die Fragmente seiner Schriften, die Quellen zu seiner Geschichte, sein Leben und seine Lehre.**

*Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, M.5.50. Pp. 159.*

**Klette, E. Theodor. Der Process und die Acta S. Apollonii.**

*Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, M.4.50. Pp. 136.*

THESE two monographs, which appear in the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, are interesting both in themselves and as striking specimens of the process by which the true history and the personalities of the first four centuries are being steadily recovered and re-constituted. Till within a few years, Jovinian has been little more than a name in the Church Histories, the name of one of the targets for Jerome's envenomed invective. One page in the first edition of Herzog sufficed for the *omne scibile* concerning him. Gauged by the same rough standard, Apollonius appeared of even less importance, as he is dismissed both by Herzog and by Smith with eight or ten lines. Now, however, these two dim figures have recovered flesh and blood, weight and force. In the one case by the collection and analysis of all the available evidence, in the other by the discovery of a lost document, we are made acquainted with men

and forces of no inconsiderable importance in the development of the early Church.

Some of our readers may remember a striking article by Professor Harnack in the second number of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (1891). The subject was the history of the doctrine of salvation by faith alone in the early Church, and in the series of witnesses for the Pauline doctrine of justification and evangelical conception of the Gospel, the writer adduced Jovinian, devoting some twenty pages to the discussion of his views. Having previously (*Dogmengeschichte*, iii. 51) spoken somewhat hesitatingly of the possibility of constructing Jovinian's scheme of thought from the scanty material, he now claimed him as undoubtedly a champion of purer Christianity. He summed up thus: "In the whole history of Paulinism in the early Church there is no other who has done justice to Grace and Faith as Jovinian has done: and in the whole history of the attempts to resist the prevailing tendency and derive salvation as a unity from faith alone, excluding all work-righteousness, the monk Jovinian deserves the first place." On these grounds, Harnack ventures to call him "a Protestant of his period" (compare also Emilio Comba, *I. Nostri Protestanti*, pp. 83-114).

Dr Haller, whose attention was drawn to Jovinian by this article, has devoted the interval to a careful study of all available material, and now publishes it with notes and criticisms, followed by an appreciation.

The material divides itself into two classes. Of Jovinian's own work no copy has come down to us. Jerome and Julian the Pelagian are the only men into whose hands we know that his *commentarioli* fell. To Jerome in Bethlehem these tracts were sent by "holy brethren from the city of Rome." He read them, and promptly set to work to controvert the doctrines they contained. And for our knowledge of Jovinian's actual views we depend almost entirely on the copious quotations which Jerome introduces into his reply. These quotations have been collected and re-printed by Dr Haller with variations of type to distinguish direct from indirect citation and with notes which embody the greater part of Jerome's criticism. Apart from these citations from Jovinian himself, we have further the testimony and judgment of others, *e.g.* Jerome in his letters to Pammachius, &c.; a letter of Siricius to the Church at Milan, "*adversus Jovinianum haereticum, ejusque socios ab ecclesiae unitate removendos*," the reply of Ambrose and other Bishops, together with references in Augustine, Vincent of Lerins and others.

On the basis of these materials, Dr Haller proceeds to discuss Jovinian's life, writings and doctrines. Though himself a monk,



he is best understood as the determined critic and opponent of those monkish theories and practices, whose appearance in the West coincides with Jerome's first journey to the East (373), with which they are not unnaturally connected. Jovinian represents a powerful reaction on the part of sound Christian judgment against the Oriental innovation. And it is easy to understand how Jerome's indignation against the heretic was whetted by personal annoyance against the presumptuous opponent of his favourite scheme.

Jovinian must have had a keen moral perception and a vigorous intellect to enable him to recognise so easily and combat so efficiently the certain issues of the new theory of righteousness involved in the monastic institution. His leading thought is the necessity of protesting against the intrusion of the monkish theory of salvation by works. He saw grace and faith disappearing in the Christian consciousness behind rewards and works. While others were protesting against the exaltation of asceticism, because it was a challenge to their own easy-going and self-indulgent standard of Christian ethics, Jovinian (followed by Vigilantius and others) protested in the name of a more common-sense and yet more truly spiritual interpretation of the way of salvation.

His opposition, first expressed in conversation in pastoral intercourse and in public addresses, finally took shape in four tracts or booklets (*commentarioli*), in each of which he set forth and defended a proposition which contradicted the doctrine then beginning to claim the acceptance of the Church.

In the first place, he asserted the undifferentiated blessedness of all the regenerate. He stoutly denied the theory of a "double morality" conditioning different degrees of blessedness or salvation. He saw the danger and the falsity of the suggestion which first makes its appearance in *Hermas*, that a man can do good over and above the requirements of God (*ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ*), and so obtain superior fame or merit (*σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσοτέραν*). For him there were only two classes of men—the righteous and the sinners. Intermediate stages there were none. All depends on the fundamental attitude of soul, and that is conditioned by the indwelling of God and Christ. This is complete. Not a part of Christ, but the whole Christ enters into the soul of the new-born and there abides.

A somewhat one-sided emphasis on the results of this indwelling led Jovinian in the second place to state a doctrine of the perseverance of the saints in a way which invited criticism: "eos qui plena fide in baptisate renati sunt, a Diabolo non posse subverti," which is readily paraphrased (by Julian of Eclanum), "Jovinianistas condemnamus qui docent hominem post baptis-



mum nullo modo posse peccare." But Dr Haller thinks it clear that he drew the distinction between sinful acts and the habit of sin, and held the Pauline doctrine as set forth in Romans v. 33 f.

In the third proposition this heretic deprecated the great religious value assigned to fasting: "Inter abstinentiam ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum nullam esse distantiam." Abstinence is not in itself higher, holier, or more pleasing to God than accepting and enjoying with thanksgiving. This teaching exposed him to Jerome's most unscrupulous misrepresentation. He was the "Epicurus of the Christians," framing his doctrines as cloaks and excuses for his own gluttony and vice. But the crowning heresy, in Jerome's opinion, was the assertion of the religious equality of celibacy and marriage: "virgines, viduas et maritatas, quæ semel in Christo lotæ sunt, si non discrepent cæteris operibus, ejusdem esse meriti." Along with this went, as a concrete example of indifference and celibacy, Jovinian's denial of the perpetual virginity of Mary, the mother of Jesus.

The fate of this bold defender of Paulinism is lost in obscurity. His views appear to have met with considerable support, especially in Rome. Jerome says: "That many subscribe to your opinions is a sign of their viciousness." But none of the priests appear to have joined him. Jerome's attack overreached itself in its virulence, and in its depreciation of the marriage state. His friends found themselves greatly embarrassed. Pammachius sought to withdraw the offending writings, for there was danger lest the Saint of Bethlehem himself should come under suspicion of heresy. But Jovinian was already condemned. Driven out from Rome he fled to Milan, where his presence led to a correspondence between Pope Siricius and Ambrose. In spite of the opposition of Ambrose and other bishops the teaching met with much success both in Milan and in Vercellæ; and it seems to be represented by Vigilantius in Spain and in Gaul. But Jovinian himself disappears at the end of the fourth century, and was certainly dead in 406.

Jerome's part in this controversy ought not to be overlooked or forgotten. It puts him for ever out of court as a witness against anyone he regards as a heretic. The violence and unscrupulousness of his attacks are almost beyond belief. It goes without saying that he makes no attempt to understand his victim. He wilfully shuts his eyes to all distinctions which are based on spiritual perception or on realisation of true ethical values. For him, to advocate "eating with thanks" is identical with advocating abandonment to gluttony and debauchery. As Harnack says, it is impossible to characterise his books against Jovinian. They are an "abyss of vulgarity." And though it be a small consolation it is at least some, that even *pede claudo* justice has overtaken this

arrogant defamer and given his due at the same time to one who for all these centuries has suffered the weight of his malice.

A few words must suffice to indicate the character of the second of these monographs. Our former authorities for the character and martyrdom of Apollonius (of Rome) resolve themselves practically into the testimony of Eusebius from whom Rufinus and Jerome (*de vir. ill.*) derive their information, though adding a few details of their own. But the discovery of the *Acta S. Apolonii*, first in an Armenian version (F. C. Conybeare in the *Guardian*, 1893) and now in a Greek version (published by the Bollandists, Brussels, 1895), enlarges our knowledge, enhances his importance, and raises several difficult and complicated problems. The problems are chiefly concerned with the provisions of Roman law in their application to the trial and punishment of Christians, for which these *Acta*, when their bearing is ascertained, will provide valuable evidence. Apollonius was certainly a man of rank and learning. But was he a senator? Why did punishment fall first and with such severity upon his accuser? And why, after the accuser had been condemned to death, was Apollonius put upon his trial apparently for the second time, and then convicted and executed? These and other similar questions have been discussed already by Th. Mommsen, by Harnack and by Neumann, and Klette admits that in some of his findings he has the great weight of these authorities against him. But he supports his views with much ingenuity and learning, and his essay on "Apollonius and the process against him" is a distinct contribution to the discussion. Apart, however, from the questions raised and discussed here, we have in a convenient form the Greek text of the *Acta* with a translation of the Armenian version in parallel columns. The course of the trial is related with great fulness, and in Apollonius' defence or apology we have valuable indications of the line adopted by the Christians in regard to idolatry, and the exposition of their faith.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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**Sabatier Paul: Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci  
Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima.**

*Auctore Fratre Leone, nunc primum edidit P.S. Paris :  
Fischbacher ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate,  
1898.*

THE bibliography of the Lives of S. Francis is in itself a study both curious and instructive. No other biography became so promptly the battle-field of warring interests. Not one of the

early biographies is free from "tendency." In most of them the tendency hardens into a set and even an acknowledged purpose. The Order being sharply divided from the very beginning as to the most essential questions of what Francis was and did, taught and willed, each party sought to buttress their own cause by a carefully edited life of the Founder. The climax of the struggle between rival "legends" was reached soon after Bonaventura had been elected General of the Order. At the first Chapter over which he presided in 1260, he was instructed to prepare a new life of Francis. The Life by Bonaventura corresponds to his policy as General. A reformer over against the party of extreme relaxation, he treated with great severity the opposite party of extreme rigour. Thus, in the official Life of the Saint he produced a compilation and a compromise. Francis, the man, disappears. His place is taken by a somewhat common-place but very pious worker of miracles. As M. Sabatier says: "When we reach the end of these long pages, we have but a very vague impression of S. Francis. We see that he was a saint, and a very great saint, inasmuch as he performed a countless number of miracles, great and small. But we experience not a little of the same impression as in passing through a booth of '*Objets de piété*.' All these statues, whether they represent S. Antony or S. Dominic, S. Teresa or S. Vincent de Paul, have the same expression of insipid humility, of somewhat stupid ecstasy. They are saints if you will have it so, miracle workers. But they are not men." Such is the figure of S. Francis as depicted by Bonaventura. And his biography became the official one. A determined and only too successful attempt was made to suppress all previous lives and legends. At the Chapter held in Paris in 1266 it was ordained that these should be destroyed wherever they could be found either within or outside the convents of the Order. The result is that while the Franciscan libraries are abundantly stocked with copies of Bonaventura's work, it is vain to search them for any copy of the other lives.

Nevertheless these other and earlier lives did not wholly disappear. In private hands and in libraries, remote from Franciscan influence, they were preserved, some by accident, some doubtless with appreciation of their intrinsic value. Their authors and their several characters are familiar to all students of S. Francis. The one which has hitherto been regarded as the earliest, the First Life by Thomas of Celano, was written at the suggestion of Gregory IX., who, as Cardinal Ugolino, had taken Francis and his idea under his protection, but had proved a doubtful friend to both. It was composed very rapidly, probably between the Canonization of Francis in July 1228 and February 1229. In the latter month it received the pontifical approval of Gregory ("*confirmavit et censuit fore*

*tenendum* "). It is the work of a sincere and honest admirer of Francis, who was at the same time unconsciously influenced by the views and the wishes of living authorities. He was the Pope's man. And it was doubtless Gregory's desire that Elias, who was then in his favour, should appear as designated by S. Francis to be his successor. Thus every opportunity is taken to lay emphasis on Elias' position in the Order and his close and intimate relation with the Founder. On the other hand many facts and figures which would have tended to obscure this emphasis are quietly omitted. "One must not expect to find here such details as might have given support to the pretensions of the adversaries of Elias, those intractable enthusiasts who were already proudly assuming the title of Companions of the Saint, and trying to establish within the Order a sort of spiritual aristocracy. Among them were four of whom it might be said that during his last two years they had never left S. Francis. We may imagine how difficult it was to avoid speaking of them. Celano carefully buries their names in silence, under the pretext of respecting their modesty. But by the praises heaped upon Gregory, upon Elias, upon S. Clara, and even upon persons of quite secondary importance, he shows that his discretion was far from being always as vigilant."

A biography issued under such auspices and inspired by such a tendency, naturally called forth another which should do justice to the omitted details and incarnate the opposite spirit. The famous legend of the Three Companions proceeded from the convent of Greccio, the headquarters of the Observantines, the party who clung tenaciously to Francis' ideal of poverty. It was finished in August 1246. In it Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus, three of those closest intimates of Francis, who had been ignored by Thomas, essay to give a portrait of their master more in accordance with their knowledge of him. But neither could they escape from the influence of tendency both in selection and in treatment. The legend of the Three Companions, with all its naïveté and charm, is a manifesto of those friars who remained faithful to the letter of the Rule. "It is at least as much a panegyric of poverty as a life of S. Francis."

The third and last of the Lives which have any claim to original authority as the work of eyewitnesses and companions is the second of Thomas of Celano. But its value is comparatively slight. It is little else than a revision of the Three Companions, with additions and excisions clearly governed by the dispute, which had now grown very bitter, on the obligation of poverty, its force and its meaning.

All three of these "lives" or "legends" were superseded, as has been said, by the life produced by S. Bonaventura, which was declared to be the only canonical one, and is the main source of all the popular and uncritical lives of the Saint which have since

appeared. It represents the climax of the process through which the simple and manly character of Francis became obscured by the heavy drapery of an official saint. Many of the sections of the narrative are, of course, common to this and the earlier biographies, but they have been edited with a steady desire to magnify the marvellous, and to enhance the conventional saintliness of the hero. The subject of the Stigmata is treated at great length, but no mention is made either of the Three Companions or of Elias, while the will or *Testamentum* of S. Francis is passed over with equal silence. It is plain that we have here the work of a determined manipulator, the champion of compromise, who having sternly repressed both extremes in the Order seeks to obliterate in its Founder's biography all trace of dissension in the past and all material for dispute in the future.

Modern critical study of Bonaventura's Life and of later contributions to the subject collected by the Bollandists naturally led to a severe analysis of their material. The undeniable tendency of each of the earlier lives also was recognised and discounted, perhaps too largely, with the result that as under the hand of the ecclesiastics the man had disappeared in the sanctified worker of miracles, so the critics have destroyed the thaumaturge without being able satisfactorily to restore the man, his true conception and ideals.

M. Sabatier represents to some extent a reaction from extreme criticism. In the critical study of the sources prefixed to his *Vie de S. François* he established with great care the relation between the documents referred to above, and by patient weighing of their history and character arrived at a number of criteria by which he has been able to distinguish the original features underlying the garniture of tendency and the overgrowth of myth. It is due to this laborious examination and comparison of the sources, together with a remarkable knowledge of the psychological phenomena of the period, that M. Sabatier has been able to recover a picture of S. Francis so simple and so convincing. Other qualities in himself and his book give to his biography its colour and warmth, in a word its wonderful charm. But it is to this that it owes its scholarly value.

Two positions of equal boldness and originality were taken up by M. Sabatier, and these deserve especial attention, inasmuch as they formed the steps which have led in the course of a few years to the remarkable discovery of this long-lost contemporary life of S. Francis. In the first place he pointed out that the Legend of the Three Companions was incomplete, that in fact the greater part of it had disappeared. It broke off abruptly at the very point at which its authors became most closely connected with the daily life of the Saint. This is all the more remarkable in a work which is

plainly a reply or a supplement to the First Life of Thomas of Celano, which gives only a very brief account of the closing years. The last two chapters of the Legend are in a different style from the rest, and prove to be nothing but a compilation from Celano. These and other reasons advanced by M. Sabatier provide a probability amounting to a certainty that we have at present only the beginning of this legend. And he earnestly invites that search may be made, especially in Italy and the Netherlands, for the missing chapters.

It was in searching for them that the biographer himself made the discovery we are now recording. He was guided by a second theory put forth in his introduction to *La Vie*. Amongst later documents too hastily rejected by modern students of Franciscan history is the *Speculum Vitae S. Francisci*, first printed in 1504. As a whole, this work still waits for thorough investigation. For reasons which are plain on the surface the most accomplished historians, such as Suyskene, Papini, and Hase, have deliberately laid it aside. It is a miscellaneous collection of pieces of very various origin. Bits from Bonaventura, fragments of the Fioretti, some chapters from S. Bernard—nothing could look more unpromising as an authority. Nevertheless, M. Sabatier, thinking he detected here many fragments of an early legend, submitted the whole to a patient analysis, and after laying aside everything whose character was foreign to the earliest stage of the Order, found himself left with a residue of remarkable homogeneity, in which the style and the inspiration remain constant for many pages, while there is nothing to suggest subsequent working up of the legend. For this document comprising 118 chapters he claimed an authority only second to that of the two earliest Lives, and accordingly made full and free use of it in his own Life of S. Francis. It naturally occurred to him to identify the document thus recovered with the missing portion of the Legend of the Three Companions. But this suggestion he set aside for various reasons as untenable.

M. Sabatier's skill, patience, and reserve have now met with an abundant reward in the discovery in the Mazarin Library in Paris of a MS. containing 124 chapters, 116 of which are identical with those he had previously disentangled from the *Speculum Vitae*. And, further, this MS. bears evidence that it is the work of Brother Leo himself, and that it was begun and completed within a year of S. Francis' death. We have here therefore a Life written by his most intimate friend, begun immediately after his death, and anterior even to the first Life by Thomas of Celano. It has now been published with copious prolegomena and notes by M. Sabatier, and we may well congratulate the editor on his good fortune, richly deserved and prepared for by years of scholarly research.



All lovers of S. Francis will turn with eagerness and expectation to so promising a find. And they will not be disappointed. There may not be a great deal that is new in Fra Leone's narrative. Plainly it has served as a mine of material for many a later biographer, even for some who suppressed all reference to its author. And M. Sabatier himself has already drawn upon it for many of the most living touches in his biography. But here it is as it was written by Francis' devoted friend and disciple, companion and nurse, full of the poetry of affection, throbbing with emotion, one of the most interesting documents of the Middle Ages. Its general characteristics are thus summed up by the Editor:—

"It is not only the most ancient in date, it is also the life in which the physiognomy of the Poverello is displayed with greatest vigour, originality and poetry. Thomas of Celano wrote a few months later, but his work, though of a purer latinity, is that of a disciple and not that of a companion. He draws less upon his own memories than upon the accounts given by others, and is always thinking of the saint whom he salutes in glory. Fra Leone, on the other hand, relates the life of a man whose life he shared, to whom he was friend and confessor, secretary and attendant. Better than anyone else he knew the inner life of his hero; never were two lives more truly united or two souls more wholly intermingled."

Hence arise the special characteristics of this "legend." It is like those letters written during nights of bereavement to relate to the absent the decease of those who have just departed, without whom one thinks one cannot live. . . . One recalls his words, his gestures, his smiles, and strives to fix their memory for ever. A few years elapse and our remembrances are transformed. We see better the life of those we have loved, but we recall less clearly their last sufferings, and if we happen to relate their life, we should think ourselves guilty towards their memory if we dwelt upon their physical pain. This is perhaps the only document of the Middle Ages in which we perceive a similar intensity of feeling. It lets us hear S. Francis' sighs and groans, it lets us see the man in his physical nature at the same time that it allows us to penetrate the heart of his spiritual being. The Letters and Testament of Francis have found their true setting. The works of the master and this of his pupil are complementary and henceforth inseparable.

Hence the special value attaching to Fra Leone's biography in that he provides us with a mass of indications of time, place and circumstance. By an infinity of small touches he betrays the spectator, or rather the interested participator in the events he records, and justifies the refrain which he re-



peats with pathetic frequency "*Nos qui cum ipso fuimus.*" He shows us the dying saint stopping his bearers at the hospital "which is half way as one goes from Assisi to S. Maria" that he might turn and give his benediction to the town. And this is characteristic of the way in which events are localised with a precision which can be fully appreciated only by those who know the haunts of Francis as well as Fra Leone or M. Sabatier himself. There is a like precision and vivacity in the characterisation of Francis himself. If he is less of the conventional saint, he is all the more plainly the love-compelling man. Here he is before us full of gaiety, quickly moved to tears of compassion, of manly independence that can abase itself before God, but before God alone, and of tenacity which deceives the onlooker by the humility in which it is robed. He who, in his worldly youth, had aspired after the rank and fame of a *grand seigneur*, set himself to reform the life of the ordinary churchman as to a task of religious knight-errantry. His followers were to be paladins of Poverty. His affection and admiration for the great heroes of romance is as evident as his close and humble study of the Bible. In the fourth chapter, for example, we find an incident recorded which is among the most charming as well as the most original. A novice who could read the Psalter "though not well," had obtained leave from the General to possess a copy, but sought also the permission of Francis. "Father," he said, "it would be a great comfort to me to have a Psalter, but though the General has given me permission, I should like to have yours too." Francis replied: "Charlemagne and Roland and Oliver, and all the paladins and strong men who were mighty in battle against the infidels, won memorable victories over them, and in the end they died in battle as holy martyrs for the faith of Christ. Now, however, there are many men who seek to win honour and human praise by the mere narrative of what they did. And so among ourselves there are many who seek honour and praise merely by reciting and preaching about what the saints have done." Some days later, when S. Francis "was sitting by the fire," the same novice came in and began again about the Psalter. But Francis said to him: "After you have got a Psalter, you will fall a-coveting and want to have a breviary; and after you have got a breviary, you will sit in a great chair like a prelate, and say to your brother, 'Fetch me my breviary.'" The novice being thus rebuked, Francis explained his own practice as follows: "Brother, I also was once tempted to possess books, but, not knowing the will of God in the matter, I took a volume in which the Gospels of the Lord were written, and after praying that He would show me His will, at the first opening I found these words: 'To you it is given

to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but to others in parables.'"

The little touch about Francis sitting beside the fire is as welcome as the corresponding one in the autobiography of Thomas Boston of Ettrick, where, in the midst of his Puritan self-analysis and distress of soul, he says: "As I was filling a pipe, I gave a glance at the Bible lying open on the table before me, and met with that word, Isaiah xl. 27."

Certain features in the Founder's life and method which have been increasingly obscured in the later "legends" are emphasised in this. Of special importance is the positive side of his conception of the life of poverty. Francis had as little intention of establishing an idle or mendicant Order as of founding the learned school of literature which the Bollandists subsequently developed within the Order. His idea is misrepresented as the merely negative conception of poverty, the duty of stripping oneself of all, and distributing one's goods to the poor. That was for Francis, after all, only the condition necessary for carrying out the positive side of his ideal life, which consisted in labour and ministry, the care of the sick, and specially of the lepers. And it was only when the requirements of this higher service of others had prevented them labouring for their daily bread that his friars were to cast themselves on the charity of their neighbours. Almost from the beginning of the community we see him engaged in a daily and, as it proved, hopeless struggle to defend his ideal of poverty. The moment his wattle cell is spoken of as "his," he quits it. There is at one time only one book in the settlement at the Portiuncula, a New Testament, and that he gives away to a beggar-woman. Neither in private nor in common were they to possess anything beyond the clothes they stood in and the straw on which they lay. The ideal may have been an impossible one, but it was the inspiration of S. Francis, and he gave his life in its cause.

His last days are described here with a fulness and tenderness which later legends lack. Fra Leone, being the only one to know all the treasures of S. Francis' heart, was necessarily the only one who could call attention to certain aspects very human, and very humble, of the life of his master. In history, as elsewhere, perfect love casts out fear. It is because he had not perfectly known and perfectly loved his spiritual father, that S. Bonaventura eliminated from his legend with such care so many touching memories which he must have read in the works of his predecessors. It seemed to him that the glory of the Saint was not concerned with these things. Leo shows us Francis asking for a particular kind of fish, enjoying "a couple of crayfish," longing for "that kind of

dainty which the Romans call *mostaccioli* made of sugar and other things." We see him taking a sick friar into a vineyard to eat grapes, and "himself sitting down beside the vine to eat, lest the friar should be ashamed to eat alone." When he saw a brother making a garden, he instructed him not to cultivate the whole space with vegetables alone, but to leave a portion to produce flowers "for the love of Him who is called 'the flower of the field and the lily of the valley.'" In fact, he made it a rule that the gardener should always cultivate fragrant herbs and lovely flowers, "for every creature speaks and calls 'God made me for thee, O man.'" Such things as these may not be those which lead to canonisation, but they are those which help to explain the love and admiration which Francis inspired in so many humble hearts.

Of the ordinary arguments for canonisation there are but few recorded in the *Speculum Perfectionis*. The miracles which abound in the later legends, and increase in number and sensationalism from stage to stage of their development, are almost wholly absent here. That this element is not wholly absent is important. For it might have been argued that Fra Leone was indifferent to such manifestations of sanctity in his master. But he does record one or two occasions (*e.g.* chapters 88 and 104), where miraculous results seemed to follow upon the action or prayer of the Saint. And he is further careful to note as many occasions as possible, when some real or fancied prediction of Francis found fulfilment, even those which it would be quite pardonable to interpret as mere coincidences. It is clear that Leo is no rationalist. And it may be fairly argued that if, as other legends represent, Francis had wrought more sensational miracles than these, they would have been surely recorded here, and these simple stories would have been forgotten.

From the day that Francis retired to the hermitage at Fonte Colombo to compose a definite rule up till the date of his death Fra Leone was constantly at his side. From that time forward he depicts the moral anguish and the physical suffering of his master almost day by day and hour by hour. There is only one hiatus, but that is a remarkable one. Leo gives us no details about the strange experience at Alvernum, the trance and the impression of the *stigmata*. It is not because he is either ignorant or incredulous of the story. His one allusion to it precludes any such inference. "*Similiter in sacro monte Alvernae tempore quo recepit stigmata Domini in corpore suo tentationes et tribulationes passus fuit.*" Leo believed in the *stigmata* but they had not yet attained that importance in the legend which was afterwards assigned to them. When these memoirs were written the appeal was still made to the living impression left by the Saint upon his followers. The appeal to miracles, even to real events in his life to

which supernatural significance would most readily be ascribed, was quite unnecessary. Leo's object was not to persuade men to believe and love, but to persuade those who already believed and loved that Francis' idea was this and not that. He was striving to save the spiritual heritage of the Order, carrying on in fact the pathetic struggle of his master's later years.

At the same time his indirect evidence to the *stigmata* is of great importance. He was certainly with S. Francis in the Alpine solitude of Alvernus. We are assured of that by an interesting document which M. Sabatier rescues from the suspicion long resting on it—the autograph benediction given to Leo by Francis. The Saint first dictated the words of the blessing and then added in his own large and somewhat childish handwriting “*Dominus benedicat f. Leo. te,*” and made his signature by tracing a cross in the form of a Greek Tau. This memorial, guarded with the greatest care by Leo, and endorsed by him with an account of the occasion and the circumstances, has been the subject of endless controversy. It was revived again after M. Sabatier in his *Vie de Saint François* asserted anew its authenticity. Professor Kraus of Fribourg, writing in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1895), challenged this claim, asserting that the benediction was written in handwriting of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Photographs of the original have since been submitted to several distinguished palaeographers, including Wattenbach of Berlin and Meyer of Göttingen, and their judgment is that, while it is quite impossible to ascribe the writing to the fifteenth or sixteenth century there is no palaeographical reason for suspecting the authenticity of the relic. If this authenticity be now, as M. Sabatier thinks, established beyond doubt, we have a document of capital importance, both for the witness it bears to the reality of the *stigmata* and for the light it throws on the relations between Francis and Leo. And Leo's reticence in regard to the *stigmata* in this *Speculum Perfectionis* is evidence not against their reality, but for the comparative value which he set upon such miraculous phenomena and upon the character and teaching of his master.

In proportion as the latter “legends” emphasise and expand the miraculous and especially lay stress on the Stigmata, do they at the same time minimise and even obliterate such products of natural effort as the Song of the Sun and the Last Testament of S. Francis. From the Legend of S. Bonaventura the Song of the Sun has wholly disappeared. It is still recorded with the circumstances of its composition by Thomas of Celano. But nothing could show better than a comparison between Thomas and Leo in this matter the way in which the Franciscan legend gradually evolved. “The fact that it was destined to become a sort of manual of piety pro-

duced a tendency to eliminate all such details as were picturesque or local, and to develop on the contrary all such features as were regarded as having an edifying value. More a man of letters than Leo, Thomas of Celano was able to conform much better than he to the rules of hagiography as they were understood at that time, and it was due to this fact that from a historical point of view his work must to-day give precedence to that of the companion of S. Francis."

It is this work of a companion of S. Francis that M. Sabatier has recovered, first by a brilliant conjecture based on analysis of the *Speculum Vitae* and now by the discovery of the document in its original form. He may well say that "it is not without a lively joy that he offers the book to the public." Even were the subject a less fascinating one, these memoirs inspired by deep devotion, fresh and fragrant as spring-time in Umbria from which they come, would have a rare value. But how greatly is this value enhanced when they bring to us a living portrait of S. Francis of Assisi, in which we see him freed from the mists of controversy and disburdened of the artificial garments of myth, living, speaking and suffering, as they knew him who "were with him" to the end, and drank most deeply of his spirit.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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### Ahmed Ibn Hanbal and the Mihna

*A biography of the Imam including an account of the Mohammedan Inquisition called the Mihna, 218-234 A.H. By Walter M. Patton, B.D., Ph.D., Professor in the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. Leide: E. J. Brill, 1897: London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 209. Price, 7s.*

DR PATTON'S book is not a very large one, but it has a special interest for these two reasons at least. (a) The life of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, the outstanding figure in the book, belongs to a period of Mohammedan history which has been set as in the light of a fairy tale by the "Thousand and one Nights." Ahmed Ibn Hanbal was born in 781 A.D.—five years before the accession of Harun Al Raschid of immortal fame. (b) The policy of the Caliphate discussed in this volume is a persecution which, in several respects, resembles the persecution of the Covenanters in Scotland immediately before the Revolution of 1688.

During the "Killing Times" in Scotland certain test questions<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such as—"Was the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" "Was the killing of Archbishop Sharp murder?" "Was it lawful to rise against the king in support of the Covenant?"

were put to the Covenanters, on the answer to which the life of the person under examination not infrequently depended. Dr Patton's monograph deals with a period of Mohammedan history during which the question, "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" became as grave for orthodox Mohammedans as the question, "Was the killing of Archbishop Sharp murder?" was for Covenanting Presbyterians in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The truth is that, in its measure, Islam is like Christianity in the matter of theological controversy, and in the use made of theological differences to further personal and party ambitions. The great prophet was scarcely in his grave when Sunnites and Shyites (roughly = Orthodox and Heterodox), divided the faithful, and these parties remain unto this day. Green, white, and black flags waved over hostile camps of Moslems long before the strength of England was wasted in the wars of the Roses, or Florence was distracted by the quarrels of the Bianchi and the Neri. The black Abbassides secured the Caliphate about the middle of the eighth century (say 750 A.D.). The second of the dynasty, surnamed Mansur (the Victorious), founded the city of Bagdad and made it the capital. About the middle of the reign of his successor, in the year 781 A.D., Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, the subject of Dr Patton's monograph, was born in the new capital. Ahmed was a Sunnite (traditionist) of the Sunnites. He began the study of tradition at the age of fifteen, and in a comparatively short period he was regarded as the most famous traditionist, in other words, the most conspicuous orthodox theologian throughout Islam. Orthodoxy was at a discount during the reigns of the Caliphs immediately succeeding the famous Harun. The Persians were, and are, to this day Shyites, and the early Abbasside Caliphs were largely under Persian influence. This influence became supreme in the days of Mamun who was proclaimed Caliph in the year 813 A.D., five years after the death of his father Harun. Mamun appears to have been captured by the liberal theologians of the time. But he was cautious. The test-question was (as already indicated), "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" The orthodox held that it was uncreated, the liberal school maintained that it was created. Till the last year of his reign (he reigned some twenty years) Mamun refrained from publishing his views. He dreaded the influence of the orthodox party, especially of a theologian named Yazid Ibn Harun. "If it were not for Yazid Ibn Harun," said the Caliph, "I would assuredly make public declaration of the doctrine that the Coran is created." At last under the influence of a new chief Cadi, Ibn Abi Dowad, a zealous supporter of the new views, the Caliph issued a letter in which he avowed his belief that the Coran was created, and called upon the teachers of the faithful to support



that opinion. The Mihna<sup>1</sup> was brought into operation with the whole authority of the Caliph to support those who conducted the Inquisition: the commander of the faithful was publicly committed to heterodoxy.

For the course of events Dr Patton's volume must be consulted. The Inquisition began four months before the death of Mamun, and lasted to the second or third year of the Caliphate of Mutawakkil—the third in succession from Mamun. In the third year of his reign, Mutawakkil reverted to the old orthodox opinion, and issued a proclamation forbidding the *faithful*, on pain of death, to hold that the Coran was created. With the promulgation of this decree the Mihna ended. The whole period between the issue of Mamun's letter and Mutawakkil's proclamation was only about sixteen or seventeen years. The persecution was short lived.

The central figure in the history of this brief period, as depicted by Dr Patton, is Ahmed Ibn Hanbal. Ahmed was a religious devotee. His time was spent in the study of religious questions, in teaching the doctrine of the Coran as opportunity offered, and in the rigid performance of the duties enjoined on the *faithful*. His manner of life was strictly ascetic. His food and raiment were of the simplest kind. He took no thought as to what he should eat or drink, or wherewithal he should be clothed. On one occasion, in comparatively early life, when prosecuting his studies in Mecca, he found that, during his absence with his teacher, a thief had entered his lodgings, and carried off his clothes and other property. "Has he taken the writing-tables?" was the anxious question of Ibn Hanbal, and when he learned that these were safe, he was content. "Still, owing to the torn state of his clothes, he was forced to remain away for several days from the lecture-room, until the anxiety of his fellow-students led them to seek him out and put him in the way of earning a little money to procure a change of garments. Their proffered gifts or loans he would not on any account accept" (pp. 14, 15). So it was throughout his life. When brought before his persecutors in Bagdad he carried his provisions in a little basket; when the basket was examined, his food was found "to consist of two pieces of bread, a piece of cucumber, and some salt." (p. 178). He declined for himself and his family the bountiful provision assigned to them by the Caliph; and when he found that his sons received the gifts of the court he held himself aloof from them. This was the very man to go to Martyrdom, and Ibn Abi Dowad knew it.

When Mamun resolved to support the Inquisition, he desired to

<sup>1</sup> The term Mihna (محنة from محن, cf. Heb. מַחַן) means a *test*. [N.B. The ordinary English scription of such words as Coran, Caliph, Mohammedan, has been adopted in this notice, and this has determined the scription of other words containing peculiar Arabic letters, e.g. Mihna.]



bring the inevitable controversy to as speedy an issue as possible. With a view to this, he ordered seven of the leading traditionists of Bagdad to be summoned to his presence. Like other emperors or kings, he seems to have hoped—perhaps expected—that the sword would prove too powerful for conscience. If, by force, or flattery, or any other means, he could prevail on the leaders and teachers of the people to support him, his task would be comparatively easy. Apparently Ibn Hanbal's name was in the list as first proposed. And if the most distinguished theologians were really desired, his name would have held the first place. But men were wanted who would be likely to yield to the influence of the court. Ibn Hanbal was not such a man. Ibn Abi Dowad knew that. A persistent "non possumus" was to be expected from Ibn Hanbal. Successful resistance on his part would have encouraged his colleagues to withstand the pressure of the court. The Caliph's purpose would have been frustrated. The Mihna would have received a serious check at the beginning, and the consequence would be simply disastrous. Accordingly, the name of Ibn Hanbal was, through the influence of the Cadi, withdrawn. The seven who actually appeared before the Caliph were overawed or won over; and the Mihna was successfully launched.

Ibn Hanbal manfully withstood all the influences brought to bear on him. He was sent in chains to the Caliph, but the latter died in Asia Minor before the captive reached him. Brought back to Bagdad, he was cast into prison, and remained there more than two years. The Caliph Mutasim then summoned him to his presence. On three successive occasions the pious Imam defied his persecutors. Then the Caliph, though apparently his heart was not in work of this kind, ordered him to be flogged. According to the report, 150 lictors were told off to carry out the sentence. Each of them advanced in turn, and as he passed the post to which the Imam was bound he struck the victim twice with his scourge. Under this brutal treatment Ibn Hanbal sank into unconsciousness, and in this condition was removed from the place of torture. Meantime the people were indignant at the treatment their venerated Imam was receiving. An insurrection was possible at any moment, and appears to have been prevented by an expedient unworthy of the head of a great religious community. The Caliph presented himself to the people, accompanied by an uncle of Ahmed, and asserted that the popular Imam had received no bodily injury—and to this assertion, according to Dr Patton, the uncle "noded assent."

The truth is that the persecution of a man like Ibn Hanbal would not pay. He was set at liberty after his flogging. And though the Mihna was continued during the reign of Wathik and the beginning of the reign of Mutawakkil, and the strictly orthodox

party had to endure a good deal of suffering, Ibn Hanbal appears to have been left alone. He was about seventy-seven years of age when he died. The manifestation of sorrow on the occasion of his death, both in Bagdad and in regions beyond, was striking and unfeigned. "Some say 600,000 were present on the spot where the prayers were held over him; others say 2,500,000, and other figures fall between those two" (p. 172). Such an expression of feeling was a tribute to the character and piety of this Mohammedan Saint. Ibn Hanbal belongs to the long list of those who have shown that religious principle is stronger than expediency, and that physical force is of no avail against a simple faith in God.

The test-question during the Inquisition was, as we have seen, "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" There were other points of difference, but this was the chief. In the discussion of this question the Christian Schoolmen of the Middle Ages were anticipated, in mental acumen and subtilty, by the Mohammedan Theologians of Bagdad and other places. "What dost thou say about the Coran?" Ahmed was asked when he was brought before the Caliph. The prisoner replied like a Scotsman: "What dost thou say about the knowledge of God?" The point is that "the Coran is declared to be knowledge from God, and Ahmed and such as he regarded this as equivalent to its being inseparable from the knowledge of God. 'If this knowledge,' say they, 'be uncreated, then the Coran must be uncreated.'" But, the inquisitor urged, "God existed when a Coran did not exist"; to which Ahmed replied, "... Did God exist and not his knowledge?"<sup>1</sup> Another was asked: "What dost thou say respecting the Coran?" The answer was, "The Coran is the Word of God." "I did not ask thee for that," replied the Inquisitor. "Is it created?" "God is the creator of everything," was the answer. "Is not the Coran a thing?" was the next question. "It is a thing." "And therefore created?" "It is not a Creator." "I did not ask for this. Is it created?" No answer was given. That is a specimen of the argument employed. For details readers are referred to Dr Patton's work, and to histories of this period of Mohammedanism.

Dr Patton gives full references to his authorities, but he does more; on important questions he quotes at considerable length—a matter of some importance, as the original documents are accessible to comparatively few.

Ibn Hanbal's great work was a sort of Encyclopaedia of Mohammedan tradition. Its name (Musnad = tradition) indicates its character. "It comprised the testimonies of more than 700 companions of the prophet, and was selected and compiled from 700,000 traditions (or, according to another account, from 750,000), and contained

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 101, 2.

30,000 (in some accounts 40,000) traditions.”<sup>1</sup> It was regarded by Ahmed himself as an authority on all sound tradition, and “has always had the greatest reputation in Mohammedan theological circles.”

As time is specially precious in these days Dr Patton might have made his volume more acceptable if he had given his dates in years A.D. as well as A.H. But he has done a valuable service in opening up so interesting a period of Mohammedan history. He writes in an easy style, with full knowledge of his subject.

Englishmen, who stand in so close relations to Mohammedans in important parts of our Empire, should welcome the appearance of such a work as Dr Patton's. It helps us to understand the religious temperament of the followers of the Prophet, their mental attitude to questions touching the faith, and the influences most likely to sway them. Without such an understanding no one is likely to rule peacefully and successfully the children of Islam.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

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**All's Right with the World.**

*By Charles B. Newcomb. Boston: The Philosophical Publishing Co.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 261. \$1.50.*

**Citizenship and Salvation, or Greek and Jew: a Study  
in the Philosophy of History.**

*By A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 142.*

**The Power of Silence.**

*By H. W. Dresser. Boston: Ellis. Pp. 254. \$1.50.*

**The Perfect Whole.**

*By H. W. Dresser. Boston: Ellis. Cr. 8vo, pp. 219. \$1.50.*

1. THE first of these volumes has the appearance of a collection of proverbs rather than of a continuous treatise. Many paragraphs consist of single brief sentences, and many do not run beyond a fourth line. The form appears the deliberate choice of the author. It is indeed exaggerated by the appending to the short chapters which make up the book disconnected sentences after the manner of citations at the beginning.

The effect on the reader is not pleasing. It disturbs one like monotonous staccato playing on some neighbouring piano.

<sup>1</sup> P. 19.

Hardly any writer can afford thus to create prejudice in his readers at the very outset, and few will be reconciled unless the matter of the treatise prove very interesting and valuable.

There is no doubt as to the author's earnest purpose. The whole work is testimony to the practical end he has in view. There is ability also: ability certainly to state directly and plainly the thought in the writer's mind. One cannot help feeling respect for the idea most urgent with himself that life now transcends in present importance any future state, and that the disparaging of the manifold duties of to-day is a temptation destructive of else noble character.

"We may play truant for awhile and spend our time on the playground. But Dame Nature will surely bring us back to our tasks. Death will usher us, not into the fool's paradise we have ignorantly fancied, but into the truant's court" (p. 129).

"What right or reason have we," he asks, "to suppose a 'Paradise Lost' or anticipate a 'Paradise Regained'?"

"It is a shuffling evasion of the truth."

"The promise of a millennium in the infinite perspective is a moral anæsthetic with which we hush the clamour of our souls demanding better things of us in the present" (p. 32).

This strenuousness in his thought leads him to cross-examine much of the popular Christian belief of the time. Such chapter-headings as "Christian Atheism," "Emotional Bankruptcy," "Sympathy as a Vice," "The Selfishness of Sorrow," &c., reveal it to some extent.

His practical drift appears in quoting Hugo:—

"Be like the bird, pausing in its flight  
Awhile on bough too light  
Feels it give way beneath it, and yet sings  
Knowing that it hath wings."

The author writes a Pilgrim's Progress for himself. From Dan to Beersheba he styles it. Ecclesiasticism, Materialism, Psychism, and the higher Spiritualism are its stages. This will show the drift of the book. He makes use of the expression "The New Thought," and adopts it as descriptive of his aim.

"The new thought may be truly called a pivotal philosophy. It changes all the old bearings of life and brings everything to a centre within the individual himself. . . . God exists within; and as a fountain cannot rise higher than its source, the only conception of God possible to each life is limited, its own experience of Divine impulses. . . . The new thought teaches that all heredity, environment, and interior conditions are controlled by the soul, and that man's life is not governed in the least degree by any outside circumstances. . . . It finds in the story of Christ a revelation of one's

own subjective experience upon the higher spiritual plane" (pp. 44-46).

The following is a fair specimen of the style—

"We must be polarized to principle and not to theories and dogmas.

"When we are thus in equilibrium, we can take our compass into any waters, and it will always show us the true North."

"When magnetised by ideas and prejudices we cannot voyage beyond the length of our cable chain" (p. 28).

2. It is exceedingly difficult to characterise the small book which stands second in the list. It is a study of history by one thoroughly conversant with the facts. The writer succeeds in investing his problem with interest, and sometimes is very happy in illustrating the immediate aspect of his theme; occasionally illuminating sentences occur: "A people's conflict is never really with another people but rather with itself; the basis of an outer danger is always an inner danger." "Cherished ideals have nothing to fear from the study of life's deepest concerns."

But just as often we think there are sentences which puzzle and perplex. "In the human family the State was a means unto itself as end." "Church and Bank, as institutions in which Heaven (or the abstracted future) and money (or the abstracted past) were treasured or even hoarded, were naturally identified with the State, until division set in, since upon their abstractions imperialism depended."

It is indeed due to the author to say that he has done something to make the terms more explicit by the context; but the sentence remains needlessly perplexing. Of this the author seems to be himself aware. "You fail to catch my meaning?" he asks. "I seem to be using most sacred words idly and even irreverently."

Just here we find the complaint we have to make in regard to the work. He is apt to empty words of all accepted meaning and ascribe to them significance which is not merely arbitrary but certain to give offence. Take these instances:—

(a) "We talk of the conflict of good and evil, but we might call it the conflict of democracy and monarchy. The criminal is by nature a monarchical leader, revealing the sins of those who condemn him, and the judges at the moment of his crime are but so many soldiers marshalled in his cause." This is nonsense as it stands. But who can pass it when the criminal is understood to be Socrates or Christ?

(b) "Real prayer must be the earnest, honest, trusting definition of the sphere of one's activity; it must be the completest possible knowledge becoming motive. . . . Anything else is not prayer.

But in modern science lies the completest possible knowledge of the whole self's sphere of action . . . (Prayer) is addressed to the life in which one 'lives and moves and has his being'; and by as much as man himself is personal, by at least so much is the life to which he belongs and to which he prays personal too. . . ." Definition of one's sphere!

This is the conclusion to which he seeks to lead the reader. "Socrates, in whom Greek anticipated Roman in the conquest of Greece, sanctioned militarism and monarchism. Christ at his death interpreted to itself the activity that Socrates sanctioned. And as a result of the interpretation organism began its struggle for liberation from the shackles of mechanism; and this struggle beginning so long ago and continuing to the present day has been a repetition in the life of human society of the career of Christ, a repetition of his struggle and a repetition of his death. And in our own day the rising again" (p. 142).

Now, is this the philosophy of History?

3. "But the best and most lasting self help . . . is that wiser habit of thought, that larger helpfulness, for which this whole volume pleads; for it is what we think and dwell upon habitually that moulds character and sheds its influence on the people about us. Our inquiry has taught us to look beneath matter to its underlying Reality, and behind physical sensation to the mind where it is perceived. We have found the origin of man first in the immanent Life of which he is a part, and of which he is an individual expression; and, secondly, in the World of Mind, where his beliefs and impressions gather to form his superficial self. To know the one self from the other, to be adjusted to its resistless tendency, to do nothing contrary to it, as far as one knows, is the highest righteousness, the most useful life, and the truest religion. Here is the one essential, the life that is most worthy of the man aware of his own origin and of his own duty" (pp. 216, 217).

The above quotation may be taken as a good specimen of the volume on "The Power of Silence." The author's deepest interest is in the actual conduct of life; and through nearly 300 well-written and sometimes felicitous pages he carries this practical discussion. Philosophically the author tries the reconciliation of divine immanence and transcendence; he argues for either Pantheism or Oversoulism: practically the treatise becomes an urgent plea for reconciliation to the laws of life. The sub-title, "an interpretation of life in relation to health and happiness," might have exchanged places with the headline, and the scope of the work would have been more readily recognised.

An anonymous correspondent (Rusticus) writing lately to the

*Times* in support of the movement for a national memorial of Mr Gladstone, suggested that no more beneficent memorial of that great man's career could be raised than "a resolute effort on behalf of simplicity of life."

What "Rusticus" there urged upon the public is here dealt with in full and impressive detail. That the impressiveness of the work has been felt, and its practical urgency, is evidenced to some degree in this being the fourth edition that has been called for in the United States.

4. "The Conduct and Meaning of Life" is given as the scope of the later volume by Mr Dresser. It is an eloquent address, extending to 250 pages. The title is derived from Emerson's couplet—

"Beauty through my senses stole,  
I yielded myself to the perfect whole."

And this truly represents the attitude of the writer. "By putting an end to this constant reaching out for something that we do not deserve, by reducing all desires to a few commendable ideals, and by becoming quietly contented, the Real worth of life has an opportunity for the first time to make itself perceived" (p. 245). And more positively, "I must feel a higher impulse than that of mere argument, for even the selfish man can justify his conduct by argument. I must feel that spirit which uses all these as instruments, where at last self-scrutiny itself gives place to a *positive* expression of the divine ideal, where the right guidance comes, the means of rendering service and the right opportunities for doing good, *if the heart is right*. This, in a word, is the essence of the moral doctrine which this book has to offer . . ." (p. 219).

The author follows Fiske in defining good and evil as the higher and the lower. Evil, he says, is slavery. "The evils of intemperance in all its forms and all the corruptions of government and society in our large cities are the mud and mire of a civilisation not yet emerged from the earth" (p. 199).

"The chief value," he explains, "of any idea of God lies in a frank acknowledgment of its limitations, its utter inadequacy" (p. 88). It is possible to accept this as the language of sincere and profound belief. But there is a formidable obstacle in such teaching as follows. "What we mean by saying God is Spirit is evidently that profoundest of all truths for which the world's greatest thinkers have ever contended—viz., that nothing visible or material is final: it is variety, it is appearance, while in contrast to it reality is spiritual, it is a mind." Well, if we offer any criticism on this we appear to cross that for which all the greatest thinkers have contended; yet we may safely say that the great minds of the



world in affirming that God is Spirit meant vastly more ; and that the truth on the lips of Jesus Christ in particular revealed the nature of God which we are only now exploring when using such words as the divine Immanence along with the thought of the awful sovereignty of God.

Still criticism is ungrateful, because the aim and spirit of the work are excellent ; and if the author provokes vehement dissent it is but an incidental evidence of his own strenuous thought.

W. B. COOPER.

### **The Documents of the Hexateuch.**

*Translated and arranged in chronological order, with Introduction and Notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. II.: The Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Documents. London : D. Nutt. 8vo, pp. x. and 485. Price, 10s. 6d.*

It is six years since the publication of the first part<sup>1</sup> of this work, of which an appreciative notice by Professor G. A. Smith appeared in the *Critical Review* for July 1893. The long delay in the issue of the second and concluding volume is referred to and partially explained by the author in his preface. No doubt a good many possessors of the first volume, particularly those whose Old Testament studies are confined to works in English, have had their patience tried by this delay, but there are compensating advantages on the other side, for the author has been able to take cognisance in the present volume of some very important work that has been done in the interval. Six years is a long period in the history of Old Testament criticism, and the last six years in particular have witnessed the publication of more than one epoch-making book, they have seen the realm of investigation extended and many important conclusions tested by new methods and established more firmly than ever. If on the appearance of Mr Addis's first volume some were inclined to pronounce such a work premature, scarcely anyone will be of that opinion now.

It comes almost as a shock to the reader to be reminded that in Part i. of his work Mr Addis had not been able to take cognisance even of Driver's *Introduction*, which reached him only after his book was in type. During the same interval have appeared such works as Robertson's *Early History of Israel* (1893), which, with all its defects, cannot be ignored by the Old Testament scholar ; Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* (1894), with its bold and at times brilliant essays at an analysis of JE into its constituent elements ; Kautzsch's *Das Alte Testament* (1894), whose analysis

<sup>1</sup> *The Documents of the Hexateuch, &c.* Part I. The oldest book of Hebrew history. London : D. Nutt, 1892. Price, 10s. 6d.

corresponds so closely with Addis's own ; Kusters' *Herstel van Israel* (1894), of such supreme importance for the history of the post-exilic period, and which caused such a stream of controversy to flow (alas that the premature death of Professor Kusters has removed one of our chief hopes of arriving at comparatively certain results in that difficult field) ; also the *Heb. Archäologie* of Benzinger and of Nowack, which are both so serviceable for the elucidation of the Old Testament.

The present position of Old Testament criticism can be better appreciated and the finality of many of its results more clearly seen in the light of those attacks which have been made upon it during the last few years by a certain school of archaeologists. These attacks are a matter of sincere regret to not a few Old Testament scholars, who perceive without difficulty that the only possible result they can have is to make experts in literary criticism suspicious of archaeology and lead them to turn away from its proffered aid in its legitimate sphere. It may be said, without any fear of contradiction, that the day is past when attacks upon the criticism of the Hexateuch from the side of natural science (*e.g.* in the works of Sir W. J. Dawson) could hope for success or even command attention. But in stating, as we did a little ago, that the critical position, as tested by archæology, has been established more firmly than ever, we lay ourselves open to some measure of contradiction. What, it may be asked, about the effect of that work from which so much was expected, Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*? Did not the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis receive therein its death-blow? Has not Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, followed up by his *Early History of the Hebrews*, covered the critics with confusion? We do not think any competent judge who has followed the course of recent controversies will affirm that there are any tokens of such a result. It is not only a critic like Wellhausen but an Assyriologist like Zimmern who points out how Hommel's book, in spite of all its erudition and wealth of archaeological research, is full of irrelevant matter, and that it frequently offers to us bold conjectures where demonstration is what is needed. It is a book from which no one can fail to learn much, but as a refutation of Wellhausen it cannot be seriously taken.

Sayce, while a far weaker, is in some ways a more difficult opponent to meet. Without either the courtesy or the scholarship of Hommel, he cultivates the language of invective which gains him popularity in certain quarters, and he is apt to rush into print with ill-informed hasty statements, whose fallaciousness is no sooner exposed than with singular skill and agility he shifts his ground (let the reader recall, for instance, the egregious blunder he recently made about the Deluge tablet discovered by Scheil, and the very

unhandsome apology he offered when taken to task). Hence, although perhaps no name commands less weight with his fellow-Assyriologists, Sayce's confident assertions and persevering reiterations enable him to impose upon readers who have no independent knowledge of the matters in question. There are not wanting, however, tokens that he is beginning to lose the confidence even of this class, who have been considerably staggered by reason of the inconsistency exhibited by Sayce in his *Early History of the Hebrews*, where he resorts to methods and adopts results precisely analogous to those of the critics, whenever the exigences of his argument demand it. Of the failure of Sayce (and, in a much smaller measure, even Hommel) to state correctly the views of those whom he without differentiation styles "higher critics," we could say much, but we forbear. Mr Addis in his preface states the case fairly when he says, "Every Old Testament scholar worthy of the name will welcome, as such scholars always have welcomed, the assured results of archaeological research. But archaeologists as well as critics must be tried by the old test, *Tantum valet quantum probat*. And if critics should acquaint themselves (as they do) with the results of archaeology, may we not remind certain archaeologists that they are bound to know what the methods and theories of Old Testament critics really are before they set themselves to the work of refutation?"

In view of the circumstance that Sayce's assaults on O. T. criticism have produced not the smallest impression upon scholars (this is the testimony of so unimpeachable a witness as Père Lagrange in a recent number of the *Revue Biblique*), in view of the notable success of Driver's *Introduction* which has been translated into German and has gone through six editions in English, in view of the constant stream of books belonging to the same school, which find eager readers, it is truly surprising to read that the "higher criticism" has "ceased to be predominant in the higher latitudes of scholarship" (Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, Preface, p. vi). Surely the wish is here father to the thought. In the same passage Sayce appears to view it as a matter of reproach and a token of decay that critical results are being taken cognisance of in current popular literature. This appears to us, on the contrary, one of the surest indications that the "higher criticism" has come to stay. If a work like that of Mr Addis was sorely needed, as Professor G. A. Smith declared it was, even six years ago, its need is more widely felt and will be more readily acknowledged now.

The plan of the work before us, we need scarcely remind our readers, is to separate from each other the documents of which the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua are composed, and to print each of these as a continuous whole by itself. The advantages of

this course are obvious. Probably a good many of our readers have for years had, like ourselves, a Bible (either the Hebrew or the English) with the text underlined in different colours to indicate the different sources, and they know the demonstrative effect produced by reading the narratives separately and continuously. This is what Mr Addis seeks to accomplish for the English reader. In the former volume the work of JE from Genesis down to Joshua was dealt with, a variation of type indicating the two sources J and E, while the additions made by compilers were marked by the use of brackets. A similar method is followed in the present volume which embraces the Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Documents. As before, Mr Addis gives his own translation of the text, which appears to deserve all that was said in its favour by Professor Smith on the former volume.

Throughout his work Mr Addis shows the fullest acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and writes with a clearness which is not the least conspicuous merit of these two volumes. Finally it may reassure some timid readers to learn that Mr Addis, while following closely in the wake of critics like Kuenen and Wellhausen, yet expresses his "deepening conviction that Israel was the subject of a divine guidance, in the strictest sense supernatural and unique, till He came to whom the law and the prophets alike bear witness, and who is the 'express image of His Father's glory.'"

We now proceed to give some account of the contents of the volume before us. The section entitled "Special Introduction to Deuteronomy" deals with four main points. (1) Is it possible within the code of chaps. xii.-xxvi. to distinguish the law in its simpler and earlier form from subsequent interpretations and expansion? (2) When and how did the historical and hortatory introductions contained in the first eleven chapters come to occupy their present position? (3) Mr Addis considers the chapters which are appended to the law in the strict sense of the word, and which partly enforce its observation by promises and threats, partly explain the way in which it was transmitted by Moses to the Levites. (4) He investigates the question of the work done by writers of the Deuteronomic school who edited older historic works and inserted remarks of their own, criticising the history of the past from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic reform.

Before proceeding to deal with the first of the above questions, Mr Addis finds it necessary to meet briefly the objections that have been taken by Horst to the view that has hitherto gained almost the unanimous suffrages of critics, namely that the Deuteronomic code formed the basis of Josiah's reform in B.C. 621. Horst does not deny that Josiah instituted a great religious reform, but he believes that instead of Deuteronomy having formed the programme

of this reform, the reverse was the case, Deuteronomy being the precipitate of this reform. Upon this theory the narrative of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. must be regarded as to a large extent fiction. Mr Addis's examination of Horst's arguments leads him to a conclusion in which we believe most Old Testament scholars will acquiesce, although it is expressed in such strong terms as these, "This ingenious but uncritical theory . . . is improbable on the face of it, has no evidence in its favour, and is refuted by such evidence as we have" (p. 5). At the same time he is not concerned to deny that the narrative in 2 Kings has been altered in some important points by a later hand. In particular the prophecy of Huldah is not in its pristine form, nor can Mr Addis regard the account of Josiah's proceedings at Bethel as otherwise than largely unhistorical.

As to the date of the *composition* as distinguished from the *publication* of Deuteronomy, Mr Addis hesitates. In his first volume he spoke of the year 621, the year of the publication, as the "approximate" date for the composition as well. He is now inclined to push back the authorship to Manasseh's reign, *i.e.* between 686 and 641. The *terminus a quo* he finds in the reform of Hezekiah (somewhere before 701), the *terminus ad quem* in the reform of Josiah, in 621. He cannot agree with Oettli that Hezekiah's reform was caused by the teaching of Deuteronomy. Of course the opinion that the latter book was composed at least a generation prior to its discovery (which could thus be with more plausibility viewed as *bonâ fide*) in the temple, has to some an initial prejudice in its favour, but we suspect the opinion that composition and publication were practically simultaneous will in the end gain the day. Of course Mr Addis is right in his remark that the author of Deuteronomy used material much older than his own day. Nor should there be any difficulty nowadays in assenting to his statement that the author "honestly believed that he was writing (which after all was the case) in the Mosaic spirit, and he was therefore entitled by the literary etiquette of the ancient world to use the name of Moses. He was in fact carrying out and developing the intention of the primeval legislator, for worship in the high places imperilled the purity of Mosaic religion, and led to disastrous confusion of Jehovah with the nature deities of Canaan" (p. 10).

Coming now to the kernel of the law in Deut. xii.-xxvi., Mr Addis examines the unity of this code, and gives a useful summary of the hypotheses of Stärk and Steuernagel, who both found largely upon the interchange of the singular and plural form of address, but reach very different conclusions as to authorship. While not disposed to deny the presence of additions and interpolations he is justifiably sceptical as to the "possibility of tracing these various elements in a document which like Deut. xii.-xxvi. is

written in one spirit and in a style which, with two exceptions, is uniform almost to monotony." (We may note in passing that in the October issue of the *Expository Times* Professor Ed. König will commence a searching examination of the hypothesis of Steuernagel.)

The historical introduction contained in Deut. i.—iv. 40 has been the subject of considerable difference of opinion. Driver, after the most careful consideration, finds no decisive reason for rejecting its authenticity, but Mr Addis, in spite of his willingness to allow the greatest weight to this decision, feels constrained to adhere to the opinion expressed in his first volume that this section is a later addition by a writer of the Deuteronomic school. He is quite clear, too, that Deut. iv. 9-40 is of later date than the preceding chapters. "It seems to have been written by one who had accustomed himself to the Deuteronomic style, but was at the same time familiar with the style and language which appears in Ezekiel and the 'Priestly School'" (p. 21 f.).

Upon the other hand, Mr Addis agrees with Driver that the hortatory introduction, iv. 45—xi., is from the same hand which wrote with the help of older sources the Deuteronomic code, i.e. xii.-xxvi. Wellhausen, on the contrary, will have it that originally xii.-xxvi. stood alone; then two independent editions appeared, namely, i.-iv. 44, xii.-xxvi., xxvii., and iv. 45—xi., xii.-xxvi., xxviii.-xxx.; and that finally these two enlarged editions were united so as to form Deut. i.-xxx. Amongst other reasons which plead in favour of the more conservative view, Mr Addis gives the following:—(a) The law in its original form *must have had some preface*, it cannot have begun with xii. 1. If so, what became of it? Why was it dropped? (b) Kuenen's careful comparison between the language of v.-xi. and that of xii.-xxvi. almost demonstrates that the same author wrote both. (c) There are only two objections that tell with any weight against the belief that v.-xi. formed part of Deuteronomy in its original form. In xi. 26 the people are warned that life or death are the consequences of obedience or disobedience to the law, yet this law upon Mr Addis's view had not yet been promulgated. But surely there is nothing in this. Why should not the author have begun by drawing up the code, and have added the long introduction afterwards? Again, the contention that, if the primitive Deuteronomy had already contained an introduction, the author or authors of i.-iv. 44 would not have felt compelled to supply another, is robbed of force when it is noted that v.-xi. is mainly *hortatory* and left room for a *historical* introduction.

The passage x. 1-10<sup>a</sup> is upon any theory confused, and even the excision of vv. 6, 7 as an interpolation still leaves difficulties.



Regarding the chapters of Deuteronomy subsequent to ch. xxvi., Mr Addis agrees with Dillmann, Kuenen, Driver, &c., against Wellhausen, Cornill, and others, that ch. xxviii. formed an original part of Deuteronomy. But for the very reason that this chapter is authentic, ch. xxvii. cannot be so, for it breaks the connection between xxvi. and xxviii., although vv. 9, 10 are probably authentic. The chapter is of very composite origin, embracing some very old as well as some very recent material. Chapters xxix. and xxx., it is generally admitted, are by a later writer of the Deuteronomic school; xxxi. 1-8 presupposes chs. i.-iii., and is probably by the same hand; vv. 9-13 may be, and according to Kuenen are, a part of the primitive Deuteronomy, while vv. 24-29 are by a writer of the Deuteronomical school later than the writer of chs. i.-iii.

Mr Addis deals finally with the question of traces of the Deuteronomic school outside of Deuteronomy itself. He finds these to be very rare down to the legislation at Horeb, *e.g.* in Gen. xxvi. 1-5, Ex. xv. 26. Readers of Mr Addis's first volume will remember how large a Deuteronomistic influence he recognizes in the Decalogue, while in the Book of the Covenant he detects also many additions and changes in the Deuteronomic style, although these changes affect the manner rather than the substance of the older code. He does not agree with Wellhausen that the older narratives in Numbers have undergone Deuteronomic retouching. Mr Addis's views regarding traces of Deuteronomic influence on the books from Joshua to 2 Kings are those generally accepted by modern scholars. In the first twelve chapters of Joshua great and constant alterations have been made; Judges and Kings have been thoroughly, Samuel much more sparingly, edited from the standpoint of Deuteronomy. Mr Addis, however, justly makes the very important remark that upon the whole the Deuteronomical editors treated the older documents in a conservative spirit. "*They inserted edifying remarks, but they abstained from altering the main facts of the history with the free hand of the Chronicler*" (p. 31). Finally, we are reminded that the work of the Deuteronomic school did not cease entirely with the dominance of the Priestly Code. The twentieth chapter of Joshua affords an example of writing in the Deuteronomic style which is posterior to the Priestly writer—nay, perhaps even to the LXX translation.

Such is a summary of the main contents of the Introduction to Deuteronomy, which is marked by all the erudition that characterised the first volume, and, if we may venture to say so, exhibits a superior ability in the way of sifting evidence and arriving at an independent conclusion. The following pages give the translation and are enriched with footnotes on all important questions, either



of literary analysis or exegesis. The English reader will find these extremely helpful, although they will by no means (and Mr Addis would be the last to make any such claim) enable him to dispense with what ought to be at the elbow of every student—Driver's *Commentary on Deuteronomy*.

We may select a few of these notes for reference. Deut. xvii. 14 ff. contains the law concerning the king. Mr Addis rightly points out that the *early* Hebrews regarded the kingly power as (which it was) a chief blessing of their national life. The story of its origin, credible and faithful upon the whole, is contained in 1 Sam. ix.—x. 16, xi., with the omission of vv. 12-14. To early conceptions there was no opposition between the kingly power and the Divine rule. At the same time the author of Deut. xvii. 14 ff. saw the abuses of royal power, and upon the whole he looks on royalty as permissible rather than positively good. But he does not, like a *later* writer in 1 Sam. vii.-viii., represent it as apostasy from the theocratic rule. Mr Addis finds no sufficient reason for assigning (with Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Benzinger) the law concerning the king to a later writer of the Deuteronomical school. The only admonition that sounds strange, if given before the exile, is the one not to make a foreigner king, which, however, our author regards as susceptible of explanation without postulating a post-exilic date.

In the account of Moses' death Mr Addis translates Deut. xxxiv. 6,—“And they buried him,” which, of course, is grammatically as possible as Driver's,—“And he (*i.e.* Jahweh) buried him,” but we venture to think that the latter is the only rendering that fully suits the context. If “they” buried him, why such mystery about the locality of Moses' grave? It may be an anthropomorphism, which we scarcely expect from the Deuteronomist, to represent Jahweh as burying Moses, but nothing else seems to be his meaning.

We have not space to do more than mention the notes on the expression “beyond Jordan,” the meaning of the word *gér*, and the privileges and responsibilities of the latter, the difficulties connected with the mention of Kadesh and the stay of the Israelites there, &c., &c., all of which are well worth consulting.

Turning now to the Priestly Documents we are upon ground where in some ways there is less controversy. About the constituents of P there is little difference of opinion, although its date relatively to that of Deuteronomy is still disputed. While Wellhausen, and the great majority of Old Testament scholars, have no difficulty in making P the latest document in the Hexateuch, there are reputable critics who still hold with the late Dr Dillmann that P precedes Deuteronomy. Mr Addis naturally accepts of

the first of these views. He also distinguishes with most critics three stages by which the Priestly Code reached its full and final form. These are (1) the Law of Holiness; (2) the main body of the legislation introduced and followed by a history of Israel down to the conquest; (3) supplementary matter added from time to time and by different hands in subsequent editions of the Priestly narrative and code. On all these points there is nothing calling for special remark in Mr Addis's handling of the theme, his views being those which are common to Old Testament scholars.

The final redaction of the Hexateuch took place when the oldest documents (JE) and the Deuteronomical code and history were united with the Priestly narrative and code. This is familiar ground to our readers, hence we will devote the rest of our space to an examination of some of the questions which Mr Addis discusses in the footnotes to his translation of the Priestly documents.

We naturally turn with some curiosity to see how he treats Gen. xiv., of which we have lately heard so much, and we find that he has not failed to do justice to the arguments alike of the critics and the archaeologists. No better field than this chapter could be desired to illustrate the true historical method, which takes cognisance of linguistic, literary, and archaeological data. Without seeking to reproduce Mr Addis's sentiments, we may be excused if we go into this matter in some detail, especially seeing that not a few misrepresentations and misunderstandings prevail regarding what critics hold and what archaeologists have proved regarding the narrative of Gen. xiv. Sayce (and we regret exceedingly to add that Hommel countenances him) is never weary of telling the public what a reverse criticism has sustained here at the hands of archaeology. Well, the position of affairs is this. At one time *some* critics were sceptical about campaigns from the East having been directed against Palestine so early as the time of Abraham, and they suggested that in the 14th of Genesis we had simply a projecting into the past of such campaigns as those of Sargon and Sennacherib. There have been hypercritics, we admit, just as there have been, and still are, inaccurate Assyriologists. But even before the recent discoveries which give Sayce such a vantage ground, critics like Dillmann were disposed to admit a substratum of history in the narrative. *And nothing more than this has even yet been proved.* We have certainly learned that at a very early date expeditions from Babylonia to the Westland were undertaken, and it is probable enough that Chedorlaomer may be the Kudur-lagamar or Kudur-dagmal of the inscriptions, and that some of the other kings whose names have been deciphered may be identical with those named in Genesis. But the most that all this

implies (here the Assyriologist Zimmern is at one with the critics; see his review of Hommel's book in the *Theol. Rundschau* for May 1898) is that the author of Gen. xiv. had at his disposal genuine names of Eastern kings, that the historical situation he presupposes is, to a large extent at least, quite credible, nay that he may even have had before him a cuneiform account of such an expedition as he describes (this last is probably more than we are justified in conceding to Professor Sayce). Now it so happens that long before any of the recent discoveries the literary analysis of the Old Testament had assigned Gen. xiv. to a category by itself, ascribing it neither to J, E, nor P, but to some unknown source. Was that not a proof, Sayce himself being witness, of critical sagacity? But on the other hand we have to be on our guard, lest in our eagerness to vindicate the historicity of Genesis we go too fast and too far. *As yet nothing whatever has been discovered which has the slightest bearing upon the historicity of the part played by Abraham in the campaign.* We may accept or we may reject the story, but we lay upon archaeology a burden it cannot bear if we base our acceptance on any data supplied by it. Nothing has been adduced as yet to make it impossible or even unlikely that in Gen. xiv. we have an example of Jewish *midrash* or *haggada* attached to the name of Abraham, such as is generally supposed (and here, by the way, Sayce is at one with the critics) to be present in the Books of Esther and Daniel. Should further discoveries recover for us firmer historical ground, the critics (who have not a monomania for destruction, as Sayce appears to think) will gladly accept any addition to our store of knowledge regarding these far-off days. Our attitude meanwhile is that of waiting.

We may note as rather remarkable that Mr Addis in discussing the Passover, makes no allusion to the explanation of the sprinkling of the blood contended for by Trumbull in his *Threshold Covenant*. If this silence is intentional, it may be due to a persuasion (in which Mr Addis would not be singular) that here as in some other instances Trumbull has discovered a mare's nest. In view, however, of the attention awakened by the *Threshold Covenant*, one would have welcomed an expression of opinion from so competent a judge.

Some difference of opinion (although he has weighty supporters) will be excited by Mr Addis's opinions about the "sin-offering." He contends strongly that the victim did not die vicariously, i.e. in the sinner's stead. On the contrary the sin-offering was reserved for unintentional transgression, he who sinned "with a high hand" must pay the penalty in his own person. He objects too that the important thing was not the slaughter but the offering of the blood on the altar. "The blood which held the life, was a gift by which Yahwè was appeased" (p. 265 n.).

Mr Addis's remarks on the place of incense in the ritual and the late introduction of the prescription for "an altar of incense" are well founded and will commend themselves to most who have studied the subject. We are disposed to agree with him also on the difficult question of whether the word "ephod" has a single or a twofold sense. It appears to be impossible to explain all the usages of the word in the Old Testament unless we postulate two meanings, (1) an *image*, which, judging from the probable sense of the root, was overlaid with precious metal. Such was the "ephod" of Gideon (Judges viii. 27) and probably of Judges xvii. 5 ; xviii. 14, 17, 20 ; 1 Sam. xxi. 10 ; xxiii. 6, 9 ; xxx. 7 ; Hos. iii. 4 ; (2) a priestly vestment, distinguished by early writers as the "linen ephod" (1 Sam. ii. 18 ; xxii. 18 ; 2 Sam. vi. 14).

Enough has been said to show the thoroughness of Mr Addis's work, which we have the fullest confidence in recommending to all English-speaking students. There is nothing in our language that can exactly take its place to those who are unable to study the sources of the Old Testament at first hand, while even the expert will find these volumes extremely useful for reference. The time has now come when it is alike a duty and a necessity for the intelligent Bible student to familiarise himself with the documents that make up the Hexateuch, and he is fortunate in being able to do this under the guidance of Mr Addis. The latter will have rendered no small service alike to scholarship and to religion if the study of his volumes leads many to perceive that, as Professor Sanday has said, the adoption of a critical position, so far from robbing the Old Testament of its value, removes stumbling-blocks, brings with it a more vivid and real appreciation of the Old Testament both as history and religion, and not only leaves unimpaired the old conviction that we have in it a revelation from God to man but places it upon firmer foundations.

J. A. SELBIE.

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**David Brown, D.D., LL.D.: Memoir of a Life Spanning the Century.**

*By W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

By his fertile and diligent pen Dr Blaikie has from time to time laid the Christian community under deep obligations. Perhaps none of these services is more welcomed, and more likely to prove permanent than his contributions to Christian biography in the "Lives" of several of his contemporaries. His *Personal Life of David Livingstone* is already a classic ; and the series stretches from his sketch of young Andrew Crichton of Edinburgh and Dundee down to his recent contribution to the "Eminent Scotsmen" Library in

the memoir of the Father and Founder of the Free Church—Dr Chalmers. It may well be questioned, however, whether the task he has here undertaken is not the boldest of all in this kind. To those who were personally acquainted with the subject, it will appear an almost unsurmountable undertaking to condense into one recognisable outline, the portrait of a character so richly various as that of Principal Brown, to tell a story so long and complex as that of a Life extending almost over the whole century which is just closing—and to do all this in a modest volume of 364 pages.

The topics suggested in this volume embrace really all the leading points of interest in the history of the Scottish Churches during the period specified. Here is a Life which in youth had the friendship of Edward Irving and of Dr John Duncan, a ministry which opens in the thick of the "Ten Years' Conflict," and in the region of Strathbogie, which in its second stage runs into a Glasgow pastorate, in its third into an Aberdeen Professorship, and culminates in the Moderator's Chair of the F.C. General Assembly. The causes in which Dr Brown's long and busy career gave him a prominent place, were such as the modern critical reconstruction of the Old Testament, in the Robertson-Smith case, the application of modern scholarship to the text of the New Testament, as a member of the N.T. Revision Company. His correspondents up till a late period of his life were such as Cardinal Newman, Dr Martineau, Dr Warfield of Princeton, Professor Salmon of Dublin, and Principal Moule of Cambridge.

That the biographer steers his way through this mass of interests with the result of producing a clear and intelligible portrait is, in no small degree, creditable to Dr Blaikie's command of his subject and to his felicity and skill in the use of his material. The variety of points of view which Principal Brown's character presented was one of the difficulties which the writer of his *Life* had to encounter. Nimble-witted, amiable, simple, learned, humorous, but above all devout, the many friends whom he drew around him must have had in their minds a dozen or twenty different conceptions of him, but Dr Blaikie has managed to do a measure of justice to almost every aspect of this kaleidoscopic nature. The main paradox in Dr Brown's character, which struck almost every observer, was the combination of conservatism in opinion with liberalism of soul. He used to say to his friends that in his youth he had made it his prayer that God would give him a mind candid and fresh, open to truth from whatever quarter it might come; and he believed that God had answered that prayer. His determination to be young and fresh characterised him to the close. In his own homely phrase he must be 'on the front of the wave'—and for the most part he was. Another feature was his pre-eminent sympathy with the prac-

tical and evangelistic side of Christian work. He constantly put it in the front of his exhortations to his students that they must be 'soul-winners.' This Professor of one of the most engrossing departments of Biblical Scholarship was in the heart of every revival movement and at the head of every meeting for united prayer to which he had access. And with all this devotion to evangelical religion, Dr Brown had the highest appreciation—partly from natural gift and temperament—for the aesthetic side of things religious, the keenest interest in Hymnology and Church music.

Among these fertile topics there are many that suggest remark, but one or two must suffice. On the Old Testament question Dr Brown had to take a prominent place because of his position in the Aberdeen College and Presbytery. Dr Blaikie expends several pages in defending his friend's consistency and in complaints of the want of prudence and a 'spirit of consideration' on the part of the young professor. He scarcely touches upon the question in which the general Christian public of our day are most interested. 'Would Dr Robertson Smith,' it is often asked, 'be dealt with by the Free Church now as he was in '77-81, were the case to recur?' The answer must be 'Certainly not' as to form. Many maintained at the time, and almost all now acknowledge, that the method of 'trial by libel' was inapplicable. There must be ample liberty for investigation in the case of new and disputable questions in scholarship. If a Church is to live by popular suffrage her scholars must have room to inquire and determine. But as to substance the decision to-day would in all likelihood not materially differ. No Evangelical Church in Christendom has yet adopted the recent construction of the Old Testament Books as her own. The answer must be substantially that of Virchow to Haeckel on a famous public occasion, when the latter demanded the teaching in public schools of the Simian pedigree of man. 'The theory may or may not be true,—that is the question in dispute,—but so long as it is so,—and because it is so,—it cannot be taught.'

Of Dr Brown's place in the New Testament Revision Company not too much is made. A good deal more should have been made of it by the company itself. But Dr Brown was very far from under-valuing the work done. Indeed no judgment of the worth of the Revised Version, fairer and better balanced, has appeared than that of our venerable father as here given.

A part of the book which rather disappoints the expectations it raises is that devoted to Dr Brown's correspondence with Cardinal Newman and Dr Martineau. This is not the biographer's fault. It is the scantiness of the material. On turning to the chapters so headed, one is rather amused to find how cheaply the owners



of these great names discharge themselves of their obligation as correspondents with Dr Brown. Some amiable commonplaces are about all one gets, and the whole illustrates mainly the candour and kindliness of Principal Brown and his remarkable success in dealing with men of views so opposite to his own.

Introducing the correspondence with Dr J. H. Newman, Dr Blaikie says: "He (Dr Brown) could hold the Church of Rome to be the Antichrist of the Apocalypse, and yet believe that within her pale the Lord had his faithful servants." There is surely some slight confusion here. The framers of our standards have indeed insinuated that "some churches have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan," but the strongest assertion made is that the Pope of Rome is in no sense the Head of the Church, "but is *that Antichrist*, that man of sin, and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ" (*Confession of Faith*, xxv. § 6). The younger Dr Hodge commenting on this says "the authors of our Confession can hardly have intended to declare that each individual Pope of the long succession is the personal Antichrist, and they probably meant that the Papal system is in spirit, form, and effect wholly antichristian." The elder Dr Hodge expresses himself still more strongly on the sin of denying that Roman Catholics are Christians. Dr Brown was certainly not narrower than either of the Hodges. It is no part of the true Protestant position to hold that the body of men professing Catholic doctrines is Antichristian. Long before the days of the Reformers, and within the bosom of the Latin Church, men had risen up to call the Papal *system* Antichristian. But that is a distinguishable position from the crude one of identifying "the Church of Rome" with the Antichrist of Scripture.

It would have been tempting to have described Principal Brown's liberal views on such questions as that of the proposed Union between the United Presbyterians and the Free Church, on the Revision of the Confession of Faith, on the Declaratory Act, &c. But we must close, only again most cordially thanking Dr Blaikie for this competent portrait of one who was a notable man, a notable scholar, and a notable Christian.

J. LAIDLAW.



**Notices.**

THE Rev. J. H. Wilkinson, M.A., Rector of Stock Gaylard, Dorset, publishes *Four Lectures on the Early History of the Gospels*.<sup>1</sup> The writer's object is to put the general reader in possession of the main points in the case for the Gospels as it stands at present, and to make it possible for him to form his own judgment of the relative historical value of the various sources. To do this to any good purpose involves the statement and discussion of questions of great difficulty and intricacy. Mr Wilkinson is remarkably successful in the attempt to make these questions plain enough for anyone to understand how they lie and what is involved in them. He gives an outline of the criticism of the Gospels which is both quite up to date and wonderfully easy to grasp. He deals with his subject in four periods, before A.D. 100, between 100 and 150, between 150 and 200, and after 170. He sketches the story of the Gospels in these several periods successively as it unfolds itself in Palestine, Egypt, Rome, and Syria. His aim is to "sum up all that is known upon the subject generally, and to focus the converging lines of evidence into one connected whole." He does this well, and in doing it supplies a want. He has mastered the best literature on these questions, making most use of the works of Harnack and Zahn. He accepts the prevalent view that the Synoptic Gospels are to be traced back to one primitive gospel, which is taken to be the *Logia*. He agrees with those who hold that the original Gospel of Mark is made up of the *Logia* and Petrine tradition; that the original Gospel of Luke is compiled from the *Logia* and Pauline tradition; and that Matthew's Gospel is "for the most part a construction of S. Mark and the *Logia*." He accepts some things perhaps too readily, but he brings out very clearly how much nearer the traditional dates the Gospels are brought by the school of criticism of which Harnack is the head than was allowed by their predecessors. He recognises varieties in the historical warrant for different parts of the Gospels. He would attach greater value, for example, to those parts which can be shown "with some approach to certainty to have had a place in the ancient *Logia* or the original Mark" than to what he holds to be "the obviously later sources from which S. Luke and the fourth Evangelist drew part of their narrative." But he is convinced at the same time that "whatever embroidery some of the narratives may have received at the hands of their early editors, these editors stood so near the actual facts that it is impossible that they should have been misinformed as to the main events

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 100. Price, 8s. net.

of our Lord's life." Mr Wilkinson has done a real service in publishing these Lectures.

Dr Alexander Whyte gives us another of his careful and informing 'appreciations.' This time the subject is *Sir Thomas Browne*.<sup>1</sup> It is a happy choice. For this 'appreciation' was addressed in the first instance to a great gathering of medical men, being delivered in St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, as the Inaugural Discourse in connexion with the meetings of the British Medical Association of this year. The estimate of the man is high. It is expressed in strong terms, yet it is just and discerning. It is summed up in the well known words of Tertullian, the meditative physician's favourite among the Fathers — *anima naturaliter Christiana*. Hazlitt would have it that there are only three perfect egotists in all literature—Cellini, Montaigne, and Wordsworth. Dr Whyte would add Sir Thomas Browne to the list, taking him also to be one of the men who are at their best when most alone with themselves. The brief criticisms of the *Religio Medici*, the *Christian Morals*, and Sir Thomas's other books are of a kind to help the reader to understand and value writings which must be placed very much by themselves in English literature. They show, too, how wide is the range of Dr Whyte's literary tastes and sympathies. An admirable selection of passages from Sir Thomas's writings adds to the value of the Essay. The book is attractive in form. It is most tastefully printed. Its modest price brings it within the reach of most men, and it should find a large audience. To read it is to have one's mind and heart enriched.

The Archdeacon of London publishes his *Seventh Charge*,<sup>2</sup> delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry in June of this year. Its subject is the Eastern Churches. It begins with a brief outline of the history of these *Churches* from the first century downwards. It exhibits the present extent of Eastern Christianity, and gives a statement of the general characteristics of the Oriental Church—its speculative tendencies, its stationary character, the rigidity of its doctrine, its lack of the missionary spirit, &c. Considerable space is devoted next to the Russian Church in particular, descriptions being furnished of a Russian place of worship and a Russian Communion. The Doctrinal Standards of the Eastern Church are also examined, and a brief account is given of the various attempts which have been made in the direction of reconciliation and union. In an Appendix a good deal of information is furnished in a handy and useful form on such matters as Baptism and Chrism, the Consecration of a Church, Confession and Com-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Churches of the East*. By the Rev. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London : Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 150. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

munion, Ordination, Holy Matrimony, Unction and the Burial of the Dead. Dr Sinclair has read carefully in the most accessible authorities on this vast and interesting subject of the Greek Church, and has made excellent use of his material. In a plain and practical form the *Charge* explains the main points in the history, constitution, doctrine, and practice of this great Communion, and gives a general view of Oriental Christianity which many will be glad to have by them. It makes no pretensions to original research. It does fairly and succinctly what it undertakes to do, viz., to give a digest of what others have written.

We are indebted to a member of the Scottish Bar, Mr Charles John Guthrie, Q.C., for a very attractive volume on *John Knox and John Knox's House*.<sup>1</sup> It has been drawn up as a handbook to John Knox's house at the request of the Trustees of the property. It gives an admirable digest of all that is known about the building, its situation, structure, erection, earlier and later history, contents, and the circumstances of its connexion with the Reformer. But it does much more than this. It provides in concise and graphic form a mass of information about Knox himself, the events in which he formed the foremost figure, and the men of his time. It furnishes a valuable chronicle of his life year by year, a series of testimonies, mostly from contemporary English writers, to his character and work, and a very useful statement of his extant works. It is most tasteful in form. In price it is accessible to almost any purse. It is enriched by a series of no less than 89 admirable illustrations. It represents a great deal of labour. It has been a labour of love, however, and it will be a great boon to many. The collection of testimonies is of singular interest. They are drawn from many different sources, Papists and Protestants, Churchmen and politicians. Here is what Cajetan Palma says of the Reformer—"that crafty little fox, John Knox of Scotland" (*illa astuta vulpecula Joannes Cnoxius Scotus*). And here side by side with that is Milton's—"Knox, the Reformer of a Kingdom—that great man," and Archbishop Spottiswood's witness—"Knox was a man endowed with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of these times."

Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen publishes, in the *Grundriss* series, a pamphlet consisting of additions to his *History of Ancient Christian Literature*.<sup>2</sup> This is most welcome. It shows both how much has been done within a very brief period, and how careful

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Neunte Abtheilung, Nachträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Von Dr Gustav Krüger. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 32.

Professor Krüger is to keep himself abreast of his subject. The increase which has been made to the materials for a history of the Patristic period, and the mass of literature which has been called forth, are remarkable. All is chronicled here with patient care.

To Professor Krüger we are also indebted for a valuable *brochure*, dealing with subjects belonging to his department of study. His *Neue Funde auf dem Gebiete der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*,<sup>1</sup> gives a record of the additions which have been made to our knowledge in the province of Church History within the period 1889-1898, and of the literature which has been called forth by the publication of the *Logia*, the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Lewis Gospels*, the *Apology of Aristides*, and the various finds of these last ten years.

We report with great pleasure the receipt of the thirty-second volume of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.<sup>2</sup> It contains the following works of Ambrose :—*Exameron*, *De Paradiso*, *De Cain et Abel*, *De Noe*, *De Abraham*, *De Isaac*, *De Bono Mortis*. The text is edited with the greatest care. Scripture passages are given at the foot of the pages. There is an ample chronicle of various readings with the authorities for each. The Latin *Praefatio* enters fully into the particulars of manuscripts and literary questions. The whole is printed in the clearest type. It is such work both in style and in critical value as we are accustomed to get from Vienna. The editor must have spent many an anxious and toilsome hour over his task. He will have the satisfaction of seeing its merits recognised.

Mr Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S., gives us an interesting volume under the title of *Ideals of the East*.<sup>3</sup> He has already published a considerable treatise, which has attracted some notice, on *The Idea of God and the Moral Sense in the light of language*. He is also the author of smaller books on *The Evolution of Religious Thought in Modern India*, and on *Dante and his Ideal*. In the present volume, which is dedicated to Lord Reay, his object is to convey to the Western mind some idea of the best and most characteristic thought of the East in ethics, metaphysics, theosophy, and religion. He takes his instances from very different sources—Buddhism, Taoism, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Hebraism. He begins with the ethical ideal as expressed in the Noble Eight-fold Path of Gautama, and takes next the metaphysical and theo-

<sup>1</sup> Giessen : Ricker, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Editum Consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis. Vol. XXXII. S. Ambrosii Opera. Pars. I. Fasciculus II. Ex recensione Caroli Schenkl. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. 501-725. Price, Fl.4.40.

<sup>3</sup> London : Swan, Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 99. Price, 5s.

sophical ideals as exhibited in the Tao literature, the Creation Hymn, the Bhavagat-Gita, and the Upanishads. The closing chapter deals with the religious ideal as shown in the Buddha's Confession of Faith, the Sacred Name of the Parsees, Islam's Allah, Semitic Monotheism, and the words of the Son of Man. In each case we get a metrical version of the original, that being regarded as the most appropriate medium for the representation of the essentially poetic diction of the East to the more logical Western mind. The least successful part of the work is, as one might expect, the concluding section, which has the title *The Son of Man and the Ruler of the Jews*. In this an attempt is made to give an elaborated, poetical rendering of the interview between Jesus and Nicodemus. We feel this to be strained and diffuse. But in general the writer accomplishes with considerable success the task he has set himself, and his book will be read with profit.

We refer with much satisfaction to the appearance of a new series of historical publications which promises to be of great interest. The series, which bears the simple title of *Zwingliana*, is undertaken by an Association in Zürich, and has for its object to collect and publish literary matter, representations of pictures and medals, and anything else that throws light on the story of Zwingli's career and the Swiss reformation. The Association numbers between 300 and 400 members, and will become stronger still, we hope. A Zwingli museum has been established, and is now under the care of the Stadtbibliothek in Zürich. The intention is to issue two publications *per annum*. It is a patriotic enterprise, which deserves a large success.

We have received the first two parts of the series,<sup>1</sup> small in size and of modest pretensions, but containing valuable matter. They begin with some careful notes on likenesses of Zwingli, commenting on the fact that, while we have several good portraits of Luther, there is scarcely one of Zwingli that can be confidently regarded as authentic. They refer in especial to the wood-engraving in Zwingli's *Lehrbuchlein* of 1524, the portrait by Hans Asper, and two smaller likenesses on medals by the engraver Jakob Stampfer. These latter, which are older than Asper's work, are photographed on the frontispiece, and have a very attractive look. We have also several letters, an account of a representation of the Plutus of Aristophanes in Zwingli's school on New Year's Day 1531, certain matters regarding Haller and Beza, a description of a Bible of Bullinger's—the Hebrew-Zahn Bible of Sebastian Münster in two vols. folio, of the years 1534, 1535, acquired by the Zwingli

<sup>1</sup> *Zwingliana*. Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Zwinglis und der Reformation. Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung für das Zwinglimuseum in Zürich. Nr. I. and Nr. II., 1897. Zürich: Zürcher und Furrer. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

Museum. In addition to this we get an account of the French edition of the Zürich Catechism of 1525, some particulars relating to the Zwingli family, a number of miscellanies of various values, and lists of recent literature. Nor should we omit mention of a discussion of the question as to who is meant by Conrad Ryss, the ostensible writer of an interesting Answer to Bugenhagen in the controversy on the Lord's Supper. The result reached by the writer, Mr George Finsler, is that Conrad Ryss cannot be a pseudonym for Ulrich Zwingli as was affirmed by Conrad Schlusberg, but that it stands in all probability for Michael Keller (Cellarius) of Augsburg, who worked along with Johannes Frosch and Urbanus Rhegius. The old tradition of the Reformed Church on the subject, is thus accepted as correct. It has been objected, indeed, by Uhlhorn that the identification of Ryss or Reyss, as the name is alternatively written, with Cellarius rests only on the testimony of Hospinian in his *Historia Sacramentaria* (1598-1602), and that there is no mention made of Cellarius in this connexion by contemporary writers. But it is shown here that Michael Cellarius is referred to as the author of the letter at least a whole generation earlier than Hospinian. For Ludwig Lavater gives the Reformed tradition in another form in his *Historia de origine et progressu Controversiae Sacramentariae* (Zürich, 1563), and Lavater lived in Zürich 1527-1586.

M. C. Bruston, Dean of the Theological Faculty of Montauban, writes on the *Descent of Christ to Hades*.<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet is the latest of a series which has dealt with the *Future Life according to the teaching of Jesus Christ* (1890), the *Future Life according to St Paul* (1895), and the *Millennium*, the third of a collection of *Studies on the Apocalypse* (1884). M. Bruston's object in all these writings is to prove that the teaching of Christ and His Apostles differs essentially not only from the Chiliastic fancies of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other Fathers of the second century and the early part of the third, but from the doctrine of the ancient Church generally. It is that doctrine that has passed with certain modifications into the Protestant Churches, and in accepting it these Churches, in M. Bruston's opinion, have gone seriously wrong. The doctrines of the resurrection of the flesh or the body at the end of the world, a future universal judgment, a visible bodily return of Christ for that purpose, are regarded by him as Jewish ideas which have no foundation in the words of Christ or those of the Apostles. To make this good is M. Bruston's object, and he has written clearly and ably. But that is far from saying that he has succeeded in doing what he has proposed to do. It is easy enough to show that

<sup>1</sup> La Descente du Christ aux Enfers, d'après les Apôtres et d'après l'Eglise. Paris: Fischbacher, 1897. 8vo, pp. 46.



the simple teaching of the New Testament became mixed up with some doubtful speculations, enlargements, and confusions in the theology of the second and third centuries. It is a different thing to prove that the teaching of Paul or even that of John on the things of the end is wholly and solely 'spiritual' in the sense in which M. Bruston uses that word. A scientific exegesis, we believe, makes it necessary to recognise the existence in the Johannine writings, and more largely and definitely in the Pauline, of more than that. This is the conclusion of the greatest interpreters and of those who have no special theological interest one way or other in these controverted questions, and M. Bruston has not made out a case for the opposite.

In the doctrine of the *Descent to Hades* he has a more promising subject. On the basis of the few and simple statements, which occur in Scripture itself on what happened between the death and the resurrection of Christ, the Churches and the schools have built up a vast theology of very discordant elements, and M. Bruston has an easy task in showing how far beyond the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles most of this goes. He examines the few passages to which it is possible to appeal in the New Testament, the 16th Psalm among the number, with its use in the Book of Acts. He gives special attention to the two passages in Paul and Peter (Eph. iv. 9 ; 1 Pet. iii. 19). He is of opinion that both speak clearly of a Descent of Jesus to Hades, but that they do so in a sense quite different from that put upon them by the Fathers of the Church and the enlarged text of the Apostles' Creed. He thinks the difference is seen in two things in particular. What are these? In the first place, while the Fathers and the *Symbolum Apostolicum* place the Descent between the death and the resurrection, the two Apostles place it, as he understands them, after the resurrection and exaltation. In the second place, while the same authorities, or to speak more correctly, the most of them, take the object of the Descent to have been to deliver the pious dead of the Old Testament, Paul represents its purpose as having been to make captives, that is, in subduing and reducing to impotence the powers of darkness, or in bringing rebellious souls and spirits under his beneficent yoke; and Peter teaches that its object was to declare the good news of salvation to the guiltiest spirits and those most severely punished. The bulk of the essay is devoted to establishing these propositions. The questions are discussed with a detail which it is impossible to follow here. Some use is made of the pseudepigraphic literature. The exegesis of the passages is minute and careful. The best case is made for the view that the 'spirits in prison' are not those of men (in which case they must needs be contemporaries of Noah), but rebel angels—a view which must be



admitted to have much to support it in the Jewish Apocalyptic. The least convincing part of the essay seems to us to be that which deals with the time of the Descent. To speak but of one thing, the succession of events given in 1 Peter iii. 19-22 points so definitely to the period *before* the resurrection that it will require stronger arguments than M. Bruston is able to offer to persuade us that the Descent took place, according to this Epistle, *after* the resurrection and the exaltation. M. Bruston's dissertation, though it does not carry conviction with it to our mind, deserves careful consideration. It is well written, and is just, not to say generous, to those whose views differ from the contentions and conclusions of the learned author.

Professor W. Wrede of Breslau is the author of a considerable pamphlet which goes into a somewhat elaborate criticism of current ideas of the theological discipline known as Biblical Theology. The pamphlet, which bears the title *Ueber Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie*,<sup>1</sup> is in substance a reproduction of certain addresses delivered by Professor Wrede as part of a summer course instituted by the Theological Faculty of Breslau in the interest of pastors last year. It advocates great changes, and projects a large programme. It is not always consistent with itself, and is of too ambitious a nature. It makes at the same time some good points, and directs our attention to some *desiderata*, especially in the method of the study. It notices the main points in which Biblical Theology may be said to have made advances since the publication of Gabler's address, *De justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, so far back as 1787. But he thinks that these—the separate treatment of Old Testament and New, the distinct handling of the teaching of Christ Himself and that of the Apostles, the recognition of different types of doctrine in the latter, the recognition of a historical development in the ideas, &c.—do not carry us far after all. He contends that the study is not prosecuted yet in terms of a genuinely historical discipline. Its historical character is formally and theoretically affirmed, he allows; but he cannot see that the admission is really followed up. He holds, indeed, that it never can be, so long as Biblical Theology continues to be studied with the student's eye upon Dogmatic, as he conceives the case to be at present. Further, he considers it fatal to any real historical conception and practice of the study to ascribe to any of the documents which form our sources any such dogmatic predicate as is implied in the use of such a term as 'normative.' What Professor Wrede has in view may be inferred from what he

<sup>1</sup> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.1.80.

says of the *name* of the science. He points out that the name *Biblical Theology* means originally a Theology which has a Biblical character, or which is drawn from the Bible, and the term *Theology* is unwelcome to him. He objects out and out to the term *New Testament Theology* as false in both its parts, the New Testament dealing much more with Religion than with Theology. He discounts also such a title as *Urchristliche Dogmengeschichte*, on account of the intrusion of the inapplicable idea of *dogma*. He suggests, therefore, as a more fitting title *Urchristliche Religionsgeschichte*, or *Geschichte der urchristlichen Religion und Theologie*. He would consequently extend the scope of the study far beyond the limits given it at present. The systems of Weiss, Beyschlag, and others are referred to, and Harnack also obtains some notice. But the bulk of the criticism is directed to Holtzmann. And this for these reasons—that his *Neutestamentliche Theologie* is the most recent book of importance in this department, that it is the work of a scholar of great eminence, and that its critical positions are nearly related to Professor Wrede's own.

The new volume of *The Expository Times*<sup>1</sup> is quite up to the standard of former volumes, and has an equally varied provision for its readers. There are continuous series of articles like Professor Sayce's *Archaeological Commentary on Genesis*, biographical papers on Professor Driver and Dr David Brown, doctrinal papers on Ritschlianism, the Atonement and other subjects, critical papers on the books of Scripture, and a multitude of others of many different kinds. The volume speaks of a great deal of care, skill, discernment, and labour on the part of the Editor. The Editorial Notes are always interesting and seasonable. In a brief and pointed way they direct attention to the subjects which are the most novel and most discussed for the month. At a very moderate price readers of many different classes will find much to suit them in these pages.

Dr L. Bonnet's commentary on the *Synoptical Gospels*,<sup>2</sup> which was published in 1880, appears in a new edition, revised and enlarged. It is not a book of the first rank as a scientific commentary. It makes no claim indeed to originality or to any novel treatment of the Gospels. But it is a book that should be of much use to a large class of readers. The Notes are of moderate compass and give in lucid and well-chosen terms the essentials of the exegesis. They are never dry. They aim at conveying the spirit as well as expressing the sense of the Evangelists. The Introductory matter is on a sufficient scale, and is done with a proper regard to

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Volume the Ninth, October 1897—September 1898. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Évangiles de Matthieu, Marc et Luc. Seconde édition, revue et augmentée. Par Alfred Schroeder. Lausanne: Bridel. 8vo, pp. 662. Price, Fr. 12.

what the mass of readers require. Pastor Schroeder, to whom we owe the revision, has fulfilled his part well. The volume will be of much service to the Swiss people.

The seventh number of the ninth year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* is a specially good one. Old Testament scholars will find some things to think of in a paper by Professor Hommel on Genesis and the Prophets; and New Testament scholars in another by Professor Blass on the work of the Philologist in the interpretation of the New Testament. Consistorialrat Staehelin contributes also a criticism of Ritschl's *Dogmatik*, directed largely against Kügelgens' irenical treatise, *Die Dogmatik Albrecht Ritschls, Apologie und Polemik*.

In the *Revue Biblique Internationale* for July, M. Hackspill concludes his careful account of the exegetical work of A. Scholz. Mr J. Meritan contributes a paper on the *Ecclesiology of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, in which he shows *Catholicity* and *Unity* to be the two great ecclesiological notes of the Epistle, and indicates how these are governed by the Christological ideas of the Apostle. We have a well informed article by Fr. V. Rose of Fribourg, on the recent criticism of the Acts of the Apostles. From a strictly conservative point of view the writer examines the positions of Weiss, Hilgenfeld, Wendt and others, and deals specially with the Pentecostal miracle and the episode of St Stephen, on which two events he thinks, critics may be said to have concentrated their efforts. He gives particular attention to Weiss, because he passes, as it is here put, for orthodox among Protestants. He attacks Weiss's statement that in the narrative which the Book of Acts gives of the day of Pentecost, there is a contradiction which no exegesis has yet resolved. He admits that Weiss's criticism is relatively moderate and wise, but thinks that he has formed a false conception of the gift of tongues, and that this has induced hesitation and misapprehension in his exegesis.

The *Biblical World* for July has some good papers. Dr George E. Merrill contributes a brief but interesting report of a *Visit to Codex B*. There is a *Symposium* of a somewhat slight character on the *Kingdom of God*. Dr Henry Hayman gives an account of the *Book of Enoch*, in which he would "sprinkle some grains of salt upon Mr Charles's opinion that the present book consists of six different pieces by as many authors." Mr Charles comes to that conclusion by looking at the inconsistencies of view, especially on eschatological questions, which appear in the book. Dr Hayman thinks such "mental fluctuations in the author of a work purely imaginary, are not beyond what we may allow as probable." He is also disposed to qualify the ordinary view taken of the recognition which the book won in the Church. He doubts whether

any first-class writer except Tertullian can fairly be said to have accepted it as genuine and of divine authority, and thinks that even writers like the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who speak of it as *Scripture*, may use the term *ἡ γραφή* in the deuterocanonical sense.

In the July number of *Mind* we have the conclusions of three important series of Articles, viz., Mr Boyce Watson's elaborate statement on the *Regulae of Descartes*; Mr M'Dougall's *Contribution towards an Improvement in Psychological Method*; and Professor E. B. M'Gilvary's discussion of the *Dialectical Method*. The object of the last named series is to establish the adequacy of the Hegelian Method. Professor M'Gilvary rebuts the charge made against Hegel that he merely asserts freedom for the individual without vindicating it. He holds that the Hegelian ethics rests upon the dialectic, and is sufficiently provided for by it. He does not claim that the Hegelian dialectic is the "last word in philosophy," nor even that, as its author worked it out, it is "inerrant." But he regards the Hegelian dialectic as adequate for all scientific needs, and looks upon the Hegelian "insight into the fundamental relation of the One and the Many," as the "insight that solves the problem of present-day thought, the problem of making an ethical world intelligible and an intelligible world ethical." The same number contains valuable papers by Dr E. Westermarck on the *Essence of Revenge*, and another by Professor E. B. Titchener, describing in telling terms the daily working of a *Psychological Laboratory*. The digest of the contents of the chief philosophical magazines is very well done.

Recent numbers of the *International Journal of Ethics* furnish considerable variety of scientific articles, and alongside these some papers of more popular interest. In the July number, e.g., in addition to an acute criticism of the views of Sidgwick and Schopenhauer on the foundation of Morality by a member of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and a capable dissertation on *Philosophy and the Activity-Experience* by Mr William Caldwell of the North-western University, we get papers on such subjects as the case of *Defective Children: their needs and their rights*, and the *National Arbitration Law*. Professor Mackenzie of Cardiff writes, too, on the *Bearings of Philosophy on Education*, his chief point being that the only thing that will save the teacher from sinking into a Gradgrind is that he recognises the necessity of "seeing the society in which we live, the knowledge for which we strive, the mind that we seek to cultivate, in their living realities, so as to view them as wholes, as concrete realities." A paper by Mr Thomas Davidson on *The Brothers of Sincerity* should also be noticed. It gives a very clear and interesting

account of the Society which was gradually formed at Basra towards the end of the tenth century, with the view of transforming the religion of Islam into a philosophy, that drew its inspiration from Arabic translations of the later Greek philosophers, and undertook to "render the harsh, crude superstition of the Koran innocuous by transmuting it, through absorption, into the Neo-Platonic Aristotelianism then popular in the East." The breadth which this Ethical Journal now allows itself appears from the fact that its *Book Review* section includes notices of Professor Allen's *Christian Institutions*, Moore's *Judges* (in the Polychrome Bible), Wellhausen's *Psalms*, &c. These reviews are all well done, with one exception. That is the notice of Wellhausen's *Psalms*. It has fallen into the hands of the contributor, as we infer from the signature, who gives us the paper on the *Brothers of Sincerity* referred to above, and it is another instance of the wisdom of abiding by the precept *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. It is a curiosity. Mr Davidson seems to take Wellhausen for a mere tiro, whose treatment of such a Psalm as the 110th is a "distinct failure," which "could easily be improved." He expresses his regret that the Book of Psalms was not assigned to Dr Cheyne rather. It is all very funny, and must greatly amuse Dr Cheyne himself and anyone who knows anything of the matter. This, however, is but little. The notice winds up with a grand burst against the "inert Christian world sunk in dull orthodox lethargy." What is there that is not to be done for us by that respectable publication, the Polychrome Bible? Its work is to be little short of miraculous. It is to conquer a "conspiracy of silence to keep its truths locked from those who most need them." It has to cope with "thousands of pulpits" in which the old views of the Bible will "long be unctuously proclaimed." But it will do all that, and much more. It is to be the end of "all supernatural authority and prophetic glamour," so far as the Bible is concerned. With the Polychrome at last "the truth is out, and the death of supernaturalism and the triumph of science are only questions of time." This is not criticism, but screaming. Where has Mr Davidson been living? Has the editor been on holiday or perchance nodding? How does tall talk of this kind find a place in a Journal of Ethics?

Among other elaborate papers in the July number of *The American Journal of Psychology* we notice in particular one by Dr J. O. Quantz of the Clark University, which bears the somewhat strange title of *Dendro-Psychoses*. Its object is to make a contribution to the study of the relations between mind and its environment on the side of the influence of trees on the life of man. It looks at the questions why trees have played such an "enormous

part in the emotional and spiritual life of the race"; why primitive peoples continue to worship them, and believe them to be "powerful spirits or the abodes of spirits, which rule the destinies of men"; why the "shrines of early religions have been consecrated groves"; why the "groves of God's first temples" and the Garden of Eden were "plantations of trees," &c. The paper is full of curious information, and is not wanting also in curious reasoning.

The Journal known as the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique*, now in its sixth year, continues to fulfil its function well. In the August number will be found some very careful reviews, e.g., of Ménégoz's *Étude sur la Doctrine de la Trinité*, by P. Lobstein; of Frommell's *Le Danger de l'évolutionisme religieux*, by L. Randon; of Müller's *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, by M. Malzac, &c.

Among the more notable papers in the *Theologische Rundschau* we may mention those on Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Kühl), and Nitzsch's *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik* (Titius).

In the August number of *The Expository Times*, Professor Ramsay gives some brief, but suggestive *Notes on the 'Acta' of Martyrs*. In the September number there is a careful appreciation of Professor Driver and his contributions to Old Testament study by the Rev. G. A. Cooke, B.D. These two numbers are also enriched by a couple of papers entitled *Faith and Revelation*, in which the Rev. W. Morgan gives a scholarly statement and critical estimate of the fundamental principles of the Ritschlian theology—papers well worth reading.

Among other articles in recent numbers of the *Expositor* we may refer specially to the Rev. G. Wauchope Stewart's examination of the views of Harnack, Spitta, and Jülicher on the Lord's Supper (July, August); and an interesting paper by Professor Rendel Harris which he calls a *Study in Letter-Writing*, and in which from the ordinary structure of Greek letters as represented in the recent finds of papyri he draws certain conclusions, in some cases perhaps too strongly put, affecting the criticism and interpretation of the Pauline Epistles. The most valuable papers, however, in the last three numbers are those in which Professor Ramsay continues his *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. They are full of interesting points, and at each new step in his exposition he finds something to strengthen his advocacy of the South Galatian theory. Even those who have been most doubtful of it will have to admit that he makes it more and more probable. In this respect his section on "Galatia the Province," in the August number is of particular interest.

In the July number of *The Presbyterian and Reform Review* there is an incisive criticism by Professor Samuel T. Lowrie of



Professor Zahn's views on the history of Sunday in the Ancient Church. Dr Geerhardus Vos contributes a scholarly paper, conservative in tone, of the recent criticism of *Isaiah*. Professor De Witt writes ably on the "Place of the Westminster Assembly in Modern History," and claims for the Westminster theology an influence not only potent and salutary for the past but capable of great things for the future. John of Barneveldt is again brought under our notice by Professor Dosker in a very able and searching paper. The New Bible Dictionary and a multitude of other books, large and small, are reviewed with great care and conscientiousness.

We have to notice a suggestive and well-written discourse on the relation of the study of Comparative Religion to religious faith by an expert in that important branch of inquiry, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye of Amsterdam; <sup>1</sup> reprints of two good articles by Dr J. Ritchie Smith of Peekskill, New York, originally published in the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, <sup>2</sup> bringing out the harmony of the Johannine doctrine of judgment with that of the New Testament generally, and exhibiting the contribution made by the two smaller Epistles ascribed to St John to our knowledge of the life of the primitive Church, &c.; a German translation, executed with care and issued as "authorised," of Sabatier's *Esquisse* by Dr August Baur, Dekan in Weinberg; <sup>3</sup> a translation, done with admirable skill and most acceptable, of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11, <sup>4</sup> one of the happy discoveries of recent date, and of far-reaching importance for the light which it sheds on the kind of Hebrew that would have been written in Palestine about 200 B.C.; a small volume of Sermons on *The Messages of the Seven Churches of Asia*, <sup>5</sup> brief, pointed, unpretentious and well written; a new

<sup>1</sup> Die vergleichende Religionsforschung und der religiöse Glaube. Vortrag gehalten auf dem ersten religionswissenschaftlichen Kongresse in Stockholm. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The Doctrine of Judgment in the Fourth Gospel. 8vo, pp. 20. The Second and Third Epistles of John. 8vo, pp. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Religionsphilosophie auf psychologischer und geschichtlicher Grundlage, von Dr theol. August Sabatier. Autorisierte deutsche Uebersetzung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 326. Price, M.6.

<sup>4</sup> Translated from the original Hebrew and arranged in parallel columns with the English Revised Version of 1895. By A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A., the editors of the Hebrew Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 65. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> A Course of Six Sermons preached in Lent, 1898, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Taunton. By G. O. L. Thomson, M.A. London: Longmans, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 53. Price, 2s.



and revised edition of Dr James Stalker's *The Life of Christ*,<sup>1</sup> a book which has enjoyed a very large circulation, and which possesses qualities of style and treatment well entitling it to that; a *Summary of the Psalms*<sup>2</sup> by David Dale Stewart, M.A., Hon. Canon of Rochester, written with the view of bringing out the fulness of the truth which the Psalter contains concerning Christ, His coming Kingdom, and the characteristics of genuine Christians, giving very brief explanations, conservative in tendency and practical in tone, of each Psalm, and pithy quotations from writers of different schools and churches; an interesting tale, healthy in tone and lively in style, *By Strange Paths*;<sup>3</sup> *The Nourished Life*,<sup>4</sup> a series of *homilies*, as the author appropriately terms them, on Hosea xiv. 5, 6, 7; vivid in style, and saying many good and profitable things on such subjects as Spiritual Beauty, Strength, Progress, Fragrance, Restoration, &c.; *The Sabbath and the Christian*,<sup>5</sup> a concise and pointed statement, well worth reading; *The Vision of the Cross*,<sup>6</sup> a tasteful booklet, devout in tone and pleasingly written, intended to show how Christ's yoke becomes easy; the first part of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's invaluable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>7</sup> containing a full account of the exegetical literature for the period; a rhythmical version of the *Book of Job*,<sup>8</sup> on which great care has been spent, prefaced by some very readable Introductory Notes; *Christ and Antichrist*,<sup>9</sup> a farewell sermon preached by the Rev. Dr Charles H. H. Wright, in connexion with the closing services in the old Church of St John's, Liverpool, in which the various passages in the New Testament that speak of Antichrist are considered, and the views of critics like W. Bousset are examined; the third edition of a volume of *Sermons on Prayer*,<sup>10</sup> by Samuel Bentley, M.A., Rector of Newent, dealing in a simple, earnest, and practical way with the nature and the duty of prayer, hindrances and helps

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 155.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 140.

<sup>3</sup> By Fannie E. Newberry, author of *Not for Profit*, &c. London: Melrose, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 304. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> By Rev. E. Aubrey, Glasgow. London: Stockwell, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> By Rev. R. J. Drummond, B.D. Edinburgh: James Arnot. Cr. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 8d.

<sup>6</sup> By Stanley Hope. London: Stockwell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 46. Price, 6d.

<sup>7</sup> Erste Abtheilung, bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Berlin und Braunschweig: Schwetschke. 8vo, pp. 174. Price, 6s.

<sup>8</sup> The Man who feared God for Nought. By Otis Cary. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxix. 84.

<sup>9</sup> London: Kensit. Cr. 8vo, pp. 34. Price, 3d.

<sup>10</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Small or. 8vo, pp. 91.

to prayer, &c.; a vigorous and seasonable pamphlet on *The Priesthood of the New Covenant*,<sup>1</sup> dealing with the Scripture idea of the 'Priest,' criticising Sacerdotal theories, testing Sacerdotal claims, and bringing out very definitely the difference between the 'priest' and the Christian minister.

The fourth volume of the English translation of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*<sup>2</sup> is to hand. It is the work of two translators, Mr Millar being now joined by Dr Speirs. The four volumes of the English represent two volumes of the original, but the German volumes are large. This fourth volume of the translation begins with the seventh chapter of vol. ii. of the German. The third volume of the original, we are informed, will occupy three volumes of the translation.

We are glad to have this further instalment of the translation of a great book. It takes us over the period from the beginnings of the Arian Controversy on to the Synods of 754, 787, and 842. It deals with questions of vital importance for the whole history of the Church, and with men and movements of the first magnitude. The Christological and Trinitarian Controversies, the great Creeds and Councils, the controversies about images, the worship of saints, relics, and pictures, the figures of Athanasius, Constantine, Theodosius, the Damascene—these are but some of the subjects of this volume. They are of permanent interest, and one can follow Harnack's discussion of them easily and pleasantly in this translation, which reads smoothly and seems to be generally correct.

There are many things within the period covered by this volume on which one is glad to get the judgment of a scholar of Harnack's eminence. He has nothing very novel to say on the question of the origin and reception of the so-called Athanasian Creed. He accepts the view that the first half of it is most probably a "Gallican Rule of Faith explanatory of the Creed of Nicaea," which came into use as a course of instruction for the clergy. The relatively most probable view of its further history, which is admittedly obscure, he takes to be this—that it took its technical form in the sixth century in Southern Gaul, and got into the decisions of single councils "from the psalm books and the breviaries of the monks and clergy," and gradually came to be the "Confession of the Frankish Church in the eighth and ninth centuries." The origin of the second half he

<sup>1</sup> By Werner H. K. Soames, M.A., of St George's, Greenwich. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 67.

<sup>2</sup> History of Dogma. By Adolf Harnack, Ordinary Prof. of Church History in the University, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin. Translated from the Third German Edition by E. B. Speirs, D.D., and James Millar, B.D. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xi. 353. Price, 10s. 6d.

acknowledges to be still "wrapt in obscurity." All he will say is that it was perhaps added at the time when the first half rose to the status of a Frankish Confession. The Church of the Franks communicated the creed to the Western Church during the period from the ninth century to the eleventh, and Rome "adopted as a second Creed the Gallico-Frankish statement of the Augustinian doctrine of the Trinity." His judgment of this formulary is severe. "In the Athanasian Creed as a Creed," he says, "we have the transformation of the Doctrine of the Trinity as an article of Faith to be inwardly appropriated, into an ecclesiastical legal statute on the observance of which salvation depends."

With regard to the Nicene Creed, too, in its time of triumph, his judgment is almost equally severe. Its victory was, he holds, essentially the victory of the priests over the faith of the Christian people. It familiarised men with the idea that Christianity is the "revelation of something incomprehensible." And in strong terms he states what this means. "This thought," he says, "has for its obverse side the adoration of the mystery, and for its reverse side indifference and subjection to mystagogues." The *people* had small consideration given them. What they had to do was simply and unquestionably to believe the Faith. The result was that "they did not live in this Faith, but in that Christianity of the second rank which is represented in the legends of the saints, in apocalypses, in image-worship, in the veneration of angels and martyrs, in crosses and amulets, in the Mass regarded as magical worship, and in Sacramental observances of all sorts."

The injury done to the State itself by the success of the policy by which Theodosius sought to secure the unity of the Church by repressive measures, is also powerfully exhibited. There is an admirable estimate of John of Damascus, with a statement of what he did for the Eastern Church in its doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and of the reasons for his remaining the *classical* theologian of that Communion. And among many other things deserving notice we may refer to the position assigned to Athanasius. Himself no "theologian" in the technical sense of the term, he had the instinct or the genius to grasp the cardinal significance of the thought of Christ's essential unity with God. By giving this the central place, he found a new basis for theology, and was a chief agent in delivering Christianity from the disruption which threatened it at the beginning of the fourth century. "Constantine on the one hand, and Athanasius on the other, saved Christendom."

Professor Harnack has to pronounce on a multitude of questions historical, critical, or doctrinal, and he is seldom slack in giving his verdict. It is impossible for any single human mind to go into all the numberless questions which are answered in Professor Harnack's

various writings, with the uniform patience and exhaustiveness which give confidence. In the present volume, as in others, we have some large generalisations and some sweeping judgments which are open to question, and of which it must at least be said that the grounds for them are not apparent. Here, for example, is the case of Leo the Isaurian. Everyone knows how discordant the estimates are that have been formed of this strong Emperor by our most competent historians. He is not a figure that can well be disposed of by the sweep of one's hand. His character, his policy, the place that is to be assigned him in secular and in ecclesiastical history, are involved in the Iconoclastic troubles with which this volume is concerned. We should expect him to receive distinct and deliberate consideration in the story of these troubles. But we do not find it. What we have is something different, and it is inadequate. A few pages are given to Leo and to the events in which he took part. But they are insufficient. He is simply slumped with other iconoclastic Emperors, and included in a general, indiscriminating judgment delivered on them as a class. The aim of the iconoclastic Emperors was, says Professor Harnack, perhaps justly enough, to "reduce the Church to a complete subjection to the State, to make it a department of the State." He thinks they were bent on deciding what was Christian and how the cultus was to be framed, and that in doing so they were "aided by the fact that it could be shown without any difficulty, that the worship of images was something relatively novel and alien." That may be so, although others take a higher view of the motives and ideas at least of Leo. But then Professor Harnack goes on to characterise these sovereigns thus: "They themselves were violent and rude barbarians, military upstarts, who depended on the sword. They had abandoned the idea of the Church as the chief support of the Empire: it was to be the chief servant. Instead of priests they had soldiers. They merely wished that the Church should not give trouble, and that it should be possible in any given case to make whatever use of it the State might require." A swift and absolute judgment indeed, and one for which, in the case of the Isaurian at any rate, one should be glad to see the grounds. Professor Harnack may have his reasons, but they are not indicated even in the briefest way here.

Dr Albert S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University, has done a large and difficult piece of work in his *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*.<sup>1</sup> It is appropriately dedicated to Dr James A. H. Murray of Oxford, whose "New English Dictionary," it declares, "will be one of the glories of England, and is the admiration of her children beyond

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. lxxx. 830. Price, 17s. net.

the seas." The quotations are accompanied by the Vulgate and other old Latin originals, and the use of the book is made easy by an index of passages and another of principal words. There is also an elaborate and scholarly introduction, in which many questions of interest are touched. The great feature of this part of the work is the survey which it gives of the relations in which the Biblical extracts stand to the versions. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries are taken in turn, and a full statement is provided of the Prose and Poetical Translations which fall within each of these periods. This has never been done before. Anything that we possess as a help in this matter is of very small value. A great service, therefore, has been done, both for the student of English literature and for the Biblical scholar, by the preparation of this complete, minute, and exact chronicle. It represents a great amount of labour, and it conveys much valuable and interesting matter.

This conspectus begins with Caedmon and Aldhelm, and carries us on to the Poetical part of the Paris Psalter, and the poem *Judith* which follows the *Beowulf* in the Cotton MS. in the British Museum known as Vitellius A. 15.

In using his authorities Dr Cook follows the best printed texts. For Ælfric he uses Thorpe's edition of the *Homilies*; for Alfred's *Laws*, Schmid's second edition; for Alfred's Version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Swete; for his Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Miller; and for his Version of Orosius's *History*, Swete. He makes no attempt to play the part of critic of the text beyond taking some liberty in matters of punctuation, capitals, the marking of quantity and the like.

The book is full of interesting matter. There is, for example, a careful examination of the question regarding the authorship of the Paris Psalter, and it is shown that there is no ground for attributing the book to Aldhelm. The assertion that Guthlac, the Saxon hermit who died in 714, translated the Psalter, is proved to be equally baseless, although it is repeated in the latest encyclopedias. The account which is given of this matter by Mombert in his *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible* is severely criticised. On it Dr Cook delivers himself thus—"The two independent versions by Aldhelm and Guthlac respectively, both mythical, have now become a joint work of the two authors, and this is identified with the Vespasian Psalter which is not a translation, but a mere gloss!" There is an excellent statement, again, on the important Northumbrian Gloss on the Gospels, which is contained in the splendid manuscript known as the "Durham Book," the "Lindisfarne Gospels," or the "Book of St Cuthbert." The Aldred, whose work this Gloss is, and who is in no case to be confounded with Aldred the Provost, is regarded

by our author as possibly, though not certainly, the Bishop of Durham of that name, whose date is 957-68. The Rushworth Version of the Gospels, made by Farman and Owun, and probably of the tenth century, is also dealt with at some length. The same is the case with the poem *Judith* mentioned above, which has been assigned to singularly different dates. Dr Cook is of opinion that it may be regarded as settled that this poem was composed between 800 and 937; but he thinks we have no means of deciding whether it was "in Wessex or Mercia, whether in 856 or 918, whether to celebrate the stepmother of King Alfred or his daughter, Queen Judith or Queen Æthelflæd." Special attention is given to Ælfric, "the foremost representative of Old English culture in the tenth and early eleventh century." A summary of Dietrich's views is given, and the main points in Ælfric's career, so far as they can be determined, are stated. These are but a few of the many things of interest which are brought under our notice in this able work.

Professor Driver has found time among his many and absorbing engagements to prepare a volume on the English Psalter.<sup>1</sup> Its title, *The Parallel Psalter*, so far indicates its scope and purpose. It is intended to promote the study of the Psalms on the part of the English reader and to be a help to the comprehension of them. It takes the Prayer Book version and places over against it, on the opposite page, a new version giving a more accurate representation of the Hebrew. This version is by his own hand, and aims at precision rather than literary excellence. Thus English readers have the advantage of retaining the version with which their ear is so familiar, and which has rare literary merit, and of reading alongside of it another rendering which will explain it and correct it in those matters in which it is confessedly faulty. It is a happy idea, and it is carried out with undoubted success. The volume is also furnished with an admirable introduction, and glossaries of noteworthy expressions and archaisms. It will be gratefully received by many devout readers.

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